Henry Rawlinson was as gallant in action as he was firm and able in diplomacy. These officers, however, were all soldier-politicals and soldiers to the backbone, as their deeds and achievements proved. Harry Lumsden was a soldier whom chance occasionally employed as a civilian. However, what was needful, and therefore customary, in the forties and fifties is no longer so in the nineties. The political officer no longer takes command of troops. On the contrary, when it is found necessary to combine military and political control in one and the same person, that person is now always the senior military officer. In 1842 (if no earlier instance can be quoted) when the Macnaghten-Burnes-Elphinstone fiasco had electrified both Government and nation, the chief military and political power in Afghanistan was vested in General Sir George Pollock. This was done by Lord Auckland before he handed over the government to Lord Ellenborough at Calcutta on February 28, 1842; for on February 14, 1842, Sir Robert Sale, writing from Jalalabad, states that he had received the previous day from Peshawar the intelligence that "full military and political powers in Afghanistan had been vested in" Sir George Pollock. The tone of Lord Ellenborough's earlier letters from India shows that he, too, grasped the evils that had arisen from the subordination of the military to the political power at Kabul. Sir William Macnaghten, over whose name the bitter memory of the Kabul disaster of 1841 hangs like a pall, was directly or indirectly the cause of the command at Kabul being entrusted at the end of 1840, not to the capable though plain-spoken General Nott, but to the enfeebled body and mind of General Elphinstone. The two ablest political officers under Sir William Macnaghten's orders, Eldred Pottinger and Henry Rawlinson, were the very men whom he mistrusted, writing of the one as "alarmist," and rejecting the sound counsel of the other. When General Pollock was sent to relieve Sale, Eldred Pottinger was a prisoner; and the political officer who had been befooled by the Ghilzai chiefs, and

who had used all his influence with General Sale to induce him to surrender Jalalabad to the traitor and murderer, Muhammad Akbar Khan, was the last man to be entrusted with high authority. With Major Rawlinson the case was different. He had lived in amity, and yet held his own with the blunt old soldier (Nott) who commanded at Kandahar. Each had learnt to respect the other, and each was a true, loyal, and able servant of his Queen and country. Whether it was Lord Auckland or Lord Ellenborough who directed Nott to assume the chief political powers on the Kandahar side matters but little. It may seem hard on Major Rawlinson, but it was the step in the right direction. The Kabul disaster had aroused the Government of India to a sense of the folly and danger of political interference in military operations. If any doubt remained in the mind of Lord Ellenborough as to the wisdom of modifying the powers of political officers deputed to accompany troops in the field, it must have been removed by a letter or memorandum written to him on March 30, 1842, by the Duke of Wellington. His opinion and advice as that of the greatest of British Generals, and one, too, who knew India and Oriental warfare, must carry weight, and we therefore quote it *in extenso*:

"But I should not perform my duty to my satisfaction, either to you or towards the public, if I did not point out to you an evil, the existence of which has been the cause of much of the disaster which has occurred, and of the existing state of affairs.

"I mean the great military powers which it has been the practice of all the Governments of India to extend to the Political Residents with the several native Powers, and even what are called the Agents of the Governor-General, whether resident within the British territories or beyond the frontier.

"It is reasonable enough that, where the Sovereign pays a subsidy to the British Government for the service of a body of British troops stationed within his territory, the

diplomatic agent of the British Government should have a control over the operations of the troops, and that these should not be involved in military operations for the service of the subsidizing Sovereign without the knowledge, and even the requisition, of the Resident. But there should be limits to these powers given to Political Agents. They should be required not to make such requisitions without previous conference and concert with the commanding officer of the troops; a perfect knowledge on his part of what it is desired that he should do; his satisfaction that the means at his disposition are sufficient to attain the object in view, and that he will be supported as he ought to be by all the power of the State, civil as well as military, in order to provide for his supplies, for his communications, and the security of his return to his original position with honour.

"These communications between political agents and commanding officers were the common practice in old times. Nay, it is the practice in Europe. When I commanded the Army of Occupation, as it was called, in France, I was in constant, almost daily, correspondence with a conference of diplomatic agents at Paris, who kept me informed of all that passed; and I could receive and act upon no communication of importance from the French Government excepting through the channel of this conference.

"But the position filled by Sir William Macnaghten was by no means similar to that of the Residents at the Courts of the native States in India which paid subsidies for the service of troops, or to that of the Conference of Ministers at Paris after the Peace of 1815.

"He directed all the operations of the troops, not immediately by communication from himself to the General Commanding-in-Chief, or to the commanding officer of a detachment from the army, but by order of his inferior political agent or deputy posted with such detachment.

"Thus, when orders were sent from Cabul to General Sale to march from Jellalabad to Cabul, to support the

troops at Cabul, they were not sent by General Elphinstone, commanding the troops at Cabul, to General Sale, commanding the troops at Jellalabad, but by Sir William Macnaghten, the Resident at the Court of Shah Shoojah, to Captain Macgregor, his deputy, with General Sale's division at Jellalabad.

"In the same manner General Nott, who commanded a corps of five thousand men at Candahar. He had with him a Political Agent named Rawlinson, employed by Sir William Macnaghten in correspondence with natives of all classes and parties at Herat, in and out of Candahar.

"I have lately had before me, sent from Bombay, a correspondence between the commanding officer of the troops, General Nott, and this gentleman, in which the latter requires the former to march out of Candahar and to attack a body of rebels assembling at a place called Dehla, at the distance of some miles from Candahar. This operation must have been preceded by others to force the Dooranis resident in Candahar to quit the place, or to destroy them if they should refuse. And, after all, the risk of the operation was aggravated by that of the loss of the place while it should be in the course of being carried on. General Nott stood firm, and did not attend to this requisition.

"But the reason for which I have drawn your attention so particularly to the existing system is that it is a novelty and an abuse of modern times, arising out of jealousy of the power of military officers. But the consequence of its existence is that the general and superior officers of the army—who, after all, must command and be responsible for the operations of the troops in action against the enemy—will undertake nothing, be responsible for nothing, except to obey the orders which the Political Agent or his deputies think proper to give them. A consideration of this state of things will show clearly the cause of the losses in Afghanistan in the last five months of 1841, and particularly of the want of energy and enterprise at Cabul during the period which elapsed from the commencement

of the insurrection of the Ghilzies in October, 1841, to January, 1842."*

Though the Duke of Wellington mentions names, and among them, with an accent of disapproval, the name of one of the finest soldier-diplomats India and Persia have known, we must remember that he is criticising and condemning not persons, but a principle. It was the system that was at fault. The men themselves were mostly good men and true. Even Dr. P. B. Lord, of whom more later, died like a brave man as he was, to the last pursuing his rôle of guiding, or *mis*guiding, the military commander to accompany whom he had been deputed. Had the great Duke known that Sir William Macnaghten was wont, on the slightest reverse, to cast blame on and disparage his officers and troops, whose support alone enabled him to maintain himself and his puppet Shah Shūja at Kabul, and who died almost to a man, the victims of his ineptitude, his (the Duke's) emphatic protest would have taken the form of an indignant remonstrance or a strongly-worded vindication. Even now, when sixty years have gone by, it angers the spirit to read the contemptuous comments quoted by Kaye, which this confident civilian, snugly ensconced in Kabul, flings with his facile but fallacious pen at the brave officers and men whom a Government had so unhappily placed at his beck and call. When we read how those troops fought and won when led by such men as Nott, Sale, Dennie, Monteith, Griffiths, Wymer, Broadfoot, and others; when we recall the defence of Ghazni, Jalalabad, and Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and the struggle to the death of the brave Gurkha regiment at Charikar, we may well resent the strictures of the "Envoy and Minister," though he was, as Mr. C. R. Low says, "a brilliant scholar who carried off all the prizes at the Calcutta University"—in other words, a pioneer of the "Competition-wala." In November, 1841, what was

* From "The Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough, in his Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington," edited by Lord Colchester in 1874.

needed at Kabul was a man (a prototype of the John Nicholson at Delhi, who was ready to call on the army to depose Archdale Wilson), who, carrying the army with him, would have set Macnaghten, Elphinstone, and Shelton aside, and nominated a man of action to the command. John Nicholson was then a young subaltern besieged in Ghazni. His day had not yet come. The burden of ineptitude in the senior grades hung like a upas-tree over the devoted troops, and doomed them to destruction. Yet there was many a good and brave officer there, soldier and political, ready to do and dare to save that army. They wanted one or two men like George Broadfoot and Augustus Abbott—the men who made Sir Robert Sale at Jalalabad—to take the lead. It was Broadfoot who led, at first unsupported, the opposition to the abandonment of Jalalabad. It was Abbott's insistence that impelled Sir Robert Sale to sanction the sortie of April 7, which raised the siege and conferred on the garrison the proud distinction of relieving themselves, and reaping the first-fruits of revenge for the dastardly massacre of their comrades.

Sir John Kaye pays a just tribute to the soldier-politicals of the first Afghan War. The truth is that the good political is also, as a rule, a good soldier, and presumably the good soldier has been found to make a good political. This may explain why fifty or sixty years ago, when a man proved himself a competent soldier, the Government of India very frequently appointed him to some important political post. Thus, Sir William Nott was appointed Resident at Lucknow in 1842, and when invalided was succeeded there in 1843 by Sir George Pollock. Major George Broadfoot, of Jalalabad fame, became the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-West Frontier; and Major Lewis Brown, the stanch defender of Káhun, became Resident at Baroda. We may appropriately conclude this imperfect list of Indian soldier-diplomats with the names of John Malcolm, Henry Lawrence, John Jacob and Robert Sandeman, names which speak for themselves.

Several notable cases have occurred of medical officers rising to some distinction in the political service. Of the enlightened and scholarly medico-political, the Indian service has produced no better example than the late Surgeon-General Bellew, who accompanied Major Harry Lumsden to Kandahar in 1858; Sir R. Pollock to Sistan in 1872; Sir Douglas Forsyth to Kāshgar in 1873, and who played an important part at Kabul in the second Afghan War. Of the militant medico-political school, of the type which Mr. Thorburn in his latest work christens "the firebrand," we may instance Dr. Lord, whom Sir Henry Durand in his history of the first Afghan War represents as "making the north-eastern frontier of Afghanistan the scene of petty aggressive operations, calculated in his opinion to prove alike the necessity of his mission and his ability to fulfil its objects," and whom Sir John Kaye also paints in no very favourable light. Stocqueler, in his "Memorials of Afghanistan," treats Dr. Lord more leniently; but his narrative incidentally shows that Dr. Lord scattered the troops at his disposal at Bamian, involved them in dangerous positions, from which Brigadier Dennie had to be sent to extricate them, and finally, by the inaccuracy of his information, so seriously misled the Brigadier that he suddenly found himself opposed to Dost Mahomed's whole force, instead of, as he was led to expect, a few hundred men. Dennie's pluck and prompt attack saved the situation and won the day. In the last scene in which Dr. Lord figures, we find him, curiously enough, taking upon himself to advise an officer commanding in the field as to the movement of the troops. That the advice led to disaster, and to the death, among others, of Dr. Lord, was a matter of accident that could not be foreseen. The case is curious, as an instance how in those days political officers, even those who had had the education of surgeons, not soldiers, allowed themselves, and were allowed, to influence the conduct of military operations. Thus, again, when Sir Robert Sale led a force into the Kohistan in

September, 1840, Kaye adds: "Sir A. Burnes accompanied it, and *directed the movements.*" (The italics are ours.) At Colonel E. G. Barrow's lecture in July, 1899, at Simla on Stonewall Jackson, the Director of Military Education in India made "the danger of civilian interference and control where military operations are concerned" the subject of special remark.

Some eighteen months ago there appeared a volume, written by one who, like Dr. Lord, had been educated for the medical profession, and subsequently selected by the Government of India for political employ, which has the air of arrogating to the writer something more than mere political powers, and which throws serious blame on the conduct of a young soldier who lost his life in what most people regard as a brave and conscientious effort to do his duty. The book to which reference is made is "Chitral: the Story of a Minor Siege," by Sir G. S. Robertson, K.C.S.I. The impression which that book seems to suggest is that during the crisis in Chitral from January to April, 1895, both the military command and the political control were vested in the author. To grasp this thoroughly the book itself must be read. The elaborate account o affecting interviews with officers early in January, 1895, at Gilgit, and the painstaking explanation of the reasons why Colonel Kelly was not then in command of the troops there (*vide* chapter viii.) seem hardly essential to the narrative. The troops in the Gilgit Agency at that time would appear to have constituted three independent commands, viz., the 32nd Pioneers, under Colonel Kelly; the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops, under Captain Campbell; and the detachment (200 rifles) of the 14th Sikhs under Captain Ross. The two last-named contingents were placed at the British Agent's disposal, but not under his command, by the Government of India, for purposes of escort and for the maintenance of peace. When Sir George Robertson therefore speaks (in chapter viii.) of Captain Campbell as his "senior soldier assistant" and "respon-

sible military adviser," and (in the conclusion) of Captain Townshend as his "military assistant," he erroneously represents the position held by those officers. In time of need a civilian or a political officer may call upon troops to act, but the command of those troops rests with the senior combatant officer present. On this point the late Commander-in-Chief in India very recently issued strict orders to the army under his command.* In the heyday of the political service, *i.e.*, about the commencement of the first Afghan War, great political functionaries were given military assistants and secretaries. Thus, for instance, Lieutenants D'Arcy Todd and Edward Conolly were respectively appointed, in a notification of the Government of India, Military Secretary and Military Assistant to the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shuja'-ul-Mulk. In these days, too, Embassies and Legations have Military Attachés. There is, however, a wide difference between the Envoy and Minister who was sent, supported by an army commanded at first by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and afterwards by the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay, to set the Shah of Afghanistan on his throne, and a Political Agent who was ordered to take a few hundred men from the Gilgit district and pay a visit to the petty chiefdom of Chitral.

There are, in addition to that of Sir George Robertson, five published narratives of the Chitral crisis of 1895, and, of these, two—the one the official account compiled in the Quartermaster-General's Department, the other that of the brothers Younghusband—are to be accepted as reliable.

* "A case having lately come to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief in India in which the officer commanding a force requisitioned by the civil power failed to realize that he alone was responsible for conducting the operations, and for judging in what manner the troops could best effect the object which had been indicated by the civil officer, Sir William Lockhart in an army order has directed the attention of all commanding officers, and especially officers commanding at frontier stations, that such an irregularity is not to be repeated, army regulations laying down, as he says, in distinct terms, what the course of procedure in such circumstances should be."—*Civil and Military Gazette*, 1899.

To avoid lengthy quotations, we ascertain from these two sources that (1) Surgeon-Major Robertson was ordered by the Government of India to proceed to Chitral early in January to report on the position of affairs there; (2) that he was authorized to take from the troops in the Gilgit district whatever escort he deemed advisable, and to call for reinforcements from the Kashmir regiments if necessary; (3) that Captain C. F. Campbell was then Inspecting Officer of Kashmir Troops, and commanded the British Agent's escort; (4) that he (Campbell) was in command of the troops at Chitral until March 3, when he was wounded, and that from that date to the close of the siege Captain C. V. F. Townshend commanded the escort, and was Commandant of the Chitral Fort. In the Appendix is Captain Townshend's report, submitted in his official capacity. On January 22, 1895, the Government of India sent Colonel Kelly telegraphic orders to assume command at Gilgit. When he reached Chitral, in April, he assumed command there from Captain Townshend. If the official account requires any endorsement, we have it from the Younghusbands. They write (p. 99): "Captain Colin Campbell, of the Central India Horse, and for the time Inspecting Officer of the Kashmir's Imperial Service Troops, was in command of the troops now (March 3) at Chitral"; and (p. 114): "The work of the defence practically devolved upon three officers only—Captain Townshend, Lieutenant Gurdon, and Lieutenant Harley. Surgeon-Major Robertson was engaged in his political duties," etc. The rank and title of Surgeon-Major, which is invariably used in the official and the Younghusbands' accounts, finds no place in Sir G. Robertson's volume. Of course, in these days the designation of surgeon is not part of a medical officer's title; but it might be supposed that the rank of "Lieutenant-Colonel, I.M.S.," which is his by virtue of the royal warrant of a year or two ago, would have found a place on the title-page. Indeed, it is not easy to understand how a rank and title conferred by Her Majesty can be thus omitted, and, as it would seem, ignored.

The lengthy pages of narrative, interspersed with criticism, which Sir George Robertson has devoted to Captain Ross's determined effort to carry aid to Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes, and indirectly to Chitral, constitute a Gordian knot which only careful study can unravel. The charges are in many ways vague, intangible, and involved in abstruse phraseology ; but of the impression they generally convey, and are meant to convey, there is no doubt. There is no unction in them for the departed spirit of the brave Captain Ross. Now, in not one of the other five accounts which we have, viz., the official, the Younghusbands', Beynon's, Thomson's, and Newman's, do we find a single word against Captain Ross. The story of what occurred is briefly this : On February 26 Captain Baird, whom the official account styles "the British Agent's Staff Officer," wrote to Lieutenant Moberly at Mastuj, and requested that "sixty boxes of Snider ammunition, escorted by a trustworthy Kashmir officer and forty sepoys, should be sent to Chitral" (Robertson, p. 103). This party left Mastuj on March 1, and found the road blocked at Buni (Younghusband, p. 22). The Subadar wrote and informed Moberly. He at once wrote to Captain Ross, who, with his detachment of the 14th Sikhs, had arrived at Laspur, asking him to make a double march into Mastuj. Ross did so. The same day Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes and twenty sappers arrived at Mastuj. Both Edwardes and Fowler were under orders from Surgeon-Major Robertson to proceed to Chitral (Robertson, p. 103). Ross at once moved on to Buni, and Edwardes and Fowler followed him there. They found all quiet at Buni. Ross returned to Mastuj, while Edwardes and Fowler and the ammunition went on towards Chitral. It must be remarked that communication with Chitral was now cut off, and that Ross therefore had nothing to guide him beyond the knowledge that the British Agent wanted Lieutenants Edwardes and Fowler and the ammunition party at Chitral. It was his duty, therefore, to support and enable them, if possible, to reach that place. On the

evening of March 6 news reached Ross that the party under Edwardes and Fowler expected to be attacked at Reshun. He (Ross) wrote that night to Ghizr for reinforcements, and started next morning for Reshun with ninety-five rifles of the 14th Sikhs, nine days' supplies, and 140 rounds per man. At Buni he left a native officer and thirty-three men to secure his line of retreat, and went on himself in command of the remaining sixty-two rifles, with three days' cooked rations. He thus acted with promptitude and took every reasonable precaution. How he was surrounded at Koragh, and finally killed with most of his men in bravely trying to fight his way out, is now matter of history. The verdict of most soldiers on this affair is that Ross tried to do his duty and died gallantly in the effort. Sir George Robertson's moralizations on the subject do not carry conviction to the mind. He says: "It is a little difficult to understand the precise view Ross took." That view, on the contrary, is very clearly stated in a letter which Captain Ross wrote at the time, and which was later published in the *Times*. In that letter he says plainly: "I fancy Robertson will be blockaded in Chitral. In that case I . . . will have to organize a column to reopen the communications." What further views he held are shown by his acts. After quoting from Captain Ross's letter in the *Times*, Sir G. Robertson goes on to say (p. 106): "Thus he (Ross) seemed to recognise the gravity of the situation, and evidently understood its salient feature, that the Chitralis had declared against us; but no man appreciates the various factors which influence responsible action until that knowledge has been forced upon him. Slight instinctive antipathies, little personal peculiarities of temper or disposition, even a passing qualm of ill-health, may, in an inexperienced man, unaccustomed to weigh the opinions of others, produce incalculable effects." Sir George Robertson must himself explain the meaning of all this vague innuendo. It is perfectly certain, as has been shown, that the ammunition escort and the party under Edwardes and Fowler were sent

for to Chitral by the British Agent himself. The official account (p. 14) says: "On March 17 the Assistant British Agent, Gilgit, telegraphed that he was anxious about a small party of 100 men of the 14th Sikhs under Captain Ross, and twenty sappers with Lieutenant Fowler, R.E., which had recently left Mastuj for Chitral, *presumably under Surgeon-Major Robertson's orders.*" On p. 115 Sir G. Robertson writes: "Many Chitralis are of opinion that if Ross had pressed forward with determination he might have got through to Edwardes at Reshun, though it is very doubtful, or if he had rushed back at once with all his men he would certainly have got out." This is the mere opinion of Chitralis, against which we have the specific evidence of Lieutenant Jones (the only British survivor and eye-witness of all that happened) that it would have been useless to attempt to go on, and that the attempt to retire failed (Younghusband, p. 25). Lieutenant Jones states that "men appeared on all the mountain tops and ridges, and stones were rolled down all the shoots." He adds later on: "I estimate the enemy's numbers at about 1.000." Sir G. Robertson's contention that Captain Ross could, by promptly advancing or retiring, have saved himself and his party, appears to fall to the ground. As for the reports which Sir G. Robertson thinks it worth while to repeat (with the qualifying proviso of "it is said" attached to them), that (1) Moberly remonstrated in writing against Captain Ross's movement to the aid of Edwardes and Fowler, and that Captain Ross simply handed the letter back to him (p. 108), and (2) that Captain Ross declined to believe the word of a local village headman, the only thing we can say is that such hearsay reports are not satisfying. By his own admission (p. 103) Surgeon-Major Robertson had conferred political powers on Lieutenant Moberly at Mastuj, with the acknowledged purpose of making him a check on Captain Ross. The reason for this act is to seek, and the right to so act is questionable. It smacks somewhat of that political interference with military

movements which the Great Duke condemned so strongly. Captain Ross was certainly justified, as the senior officer there, in acting on his own judgment, and it has yet to be proved that that misled him. He had his duty clearly defined. Reshun was known to be a place capable of next to no defence, and if Edwardes and Fowler were to be saved, no time was to be lost. If Lieutenant Moberly did urge Captain Ross to delay his advance to Reshun, he was counselling inaction at a moment when immediate action seemed imperative. As for the word of a Chitrali, judging by what Sir G. Robertson and others have told us of the character of that people, Captain Ross would appear to have shown a just appreciation of its value. The fault which soldier-critics have found with Captain Ross's conduct of the advance to the relief of Reshun—and the criticism appears well founded, though it finds no place in Sir G. Robertson's pages—is that, when marching through so dangerous a defile as that of Koragh, he did not more carefully reconnoitre his front and flanks. The idea, however, cannot but suggest itself: What *kudos* Ross would have won had he but reached and relieved Reshun! Nothing succeeds like success, and the most fatal error is failure.

Although success was on the side of Surgeon-Major Robertson in the gallant defence of Chitral, in which he bore an honourable share, we cannot say that it is altogether on the side of Sir George in his "Story of a Minor Siege." What the British public looked for from him was a graphic, straightforward narrative, with an accurate and intelligent account of the political events which led to the crisis of 1895 in Chitral. He has had his opportunity, and not known how to take it. The style which he has adopted fails to please. It is a style which does not carry conviction, which savours of thinly-disguised pretension, and which disturbs the reader's sense of good taste by elaborate and somewhat flippant attempts at humour which have the misfortune to be too suggestive of familiarity. It would

scarcely console Captain Ross to know that he was described as "poor Ross, an officer gallant almost to the verge of eccentricity," and as one who showed "astounding gallantry"! It is just the epithet that kills the compliment. "Astounding" and "eccentric," coupled with gallantry, are dubious terms. Nor is Sir George Robertson happier in writing of Lieutenant Harley as "a light-hearted young Irishman of gregarious instincts"; of Brigadier-General Waterfield as "a well-known Indian officer, affectionately nicknamed the 'Bear' by native soldiers"; and of Brigadier-General W. F. Gatacre as "a man whose exploits may some day become fabulous, and who, after making a record, sets himself to break it as a point of honour." It is more than doubtful if any one of these gentlemen thus presented to the public will be pleased at the mode of presentation. The Brigadiers may be pardoned if they call it a liberty. Such is the tone in which the medico-political officer of to-day writes of his combatant brethren, both of superior and inferior rank. It is so much pleasanter to read it as genuine soldiers (the Younghusbands) put it (p. 98): "The names of . . . and General Waterfield stand high on the historic roll of successful Generals, whilst Colonel Kelly's brilliant feat of arms has made him famous for ever. But perhaps the deed of all others which appeals most to the soldier's heart was the desperate and successful sortie from Chitral made by the brave and gallant Harley and his Sikhs on April 17, 1895." The spirit that a book breathes forth is that of the soul that inspired it, although there must be something in the air of Gilgit and Chitral that makes men forget *De mortuis*, etc. Major Daniell, of the Guides, and Captain Ross, of the 14th Sikhs, both died there, leading their few men on against hundreds or thousands, a trifle quixotic, maybe, but fearless, and faithful to duty. *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.* Even posthumous criticism cannot rob a soldier of that honour. To one or two political officers whose name and fame are closely associated with Hunza-Nagur and Chitral

we would recall a line of Sophocles, which mayhap since their school-days has not recurred to them :

ἀπιθρῶτε, μὴ ὁρᾶ τοὺς τεθνήκοτας κακῶς.

Slight contraventions, however, of the canons of good feeling are of little moment compared with the great principle involved in even the suspicion of a tendency to revive the "political" abuses of the first Afghan War, with their concomitant tale of disaster. When the Government of India gave the British Agent at Gilgit control over a considerable body of troops, it seemingly overlooked—for three weeks—the fact that a military officer of rank, Colonel Kelly, was at Chilas. The soldier who, a few weeks later, was instructed to relieve Chitral, and did so, was the man who should have been directed to withdraw Lieutenant Gurdon and Shuja'-ul-Mulk to Mastuj. The rôle of the Political Agent was to give the officer commanding the troops such assistance and information as he could. Given, however, as Surgeon-Major Robertson was, a free hand, it is not surprising that the semblance of military power resolved itself in his mind into something more solid, which has given colouring to his volume on "Chitral." That it was an illusion, we know—still, one that should be formally discountenanced. When Sir William Macnaghten posed as the King-maker of Kabul, we know with what gusto, seasoned by irritable injustice and capricious ingratitude, he savoured the satisfaction of manœuvring fifteen or twenty thousand troops on the chess-board of his ambitions. So, too, in his lesser sphere, Dr. P. B. Lord made soldiers his playthings (it was no sport for them!) amid the passes of the Hindu Kush. So, too, five years ago, Surgeon-Major Robertson played out his game among the princelets of the remotest corner of our North-West Frontier. Mr. S. S. Thorburn is a candid critic. Two years ago he exposed to the sympathetic ridicule of a Simla audience the "backward" policy as put on the stage at Peshawar. In "Transgression" he holds up to public view the forward firebrand of the frontier, whose ardour

frontier war is easy to kindle, and in its dying embers may be divined by eager and ambitious eyes the gleam of stars and orders, and of the letters (C.S.I., C.I.E., etc., with the "K" in yet brighter relief) that betoken them. Is the "political" more than mortal that he should steel his heart against the allurements of notoriety?

Soldier and "political" alike are ever ready to set their lives in the balance against fortune, fame, and duty. Were it not so, the warning to Governments were wasted—not to place their officers in positions of perilous isolation. When the Mehtar, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was murdered, Lieutenant Gurdon was at Chitral with an escort of *eight* men. He held his ground, like a brave man. He should have been withdrawn, with Shuja'-ul-Mulk, to Mastuj. Amir-ul-Mulk, Sher Afzal, and Umra Khan might have been left for three or four months to regulate their own affairs. Their lives were of no value. Mastuj, reinforced, would have held out easily till spring, when, with the Laorai and Shandur Passes open, the Government would have speedily re-established the *pax Britannica*. True, we should have lost the picturesque details of a most gallant defence and relief, as told by the Younghusbands, Lieutenant Beynon, Mr. Thomson, and Sir George Robertson himself; but lakhs and some noble lives would have been saved. There are times when the letters "K.C.S.I.," conferred on a meritorious subject, cost the Government a little fortune.

It furnishes food for some serious reflection and wonder to notice that, despite the warning of Chitral and many another, the Government of India is about to inaugurate a new system for the control of the border tribes which bears on the face of it the stamp of a perilous experiment. British officers in command of tribal levies or militia are to be isolated among tribesmen against whose treachery we have next to no guarantee or security. The remote fear of consequences is often powerless to prevent outrage. It is not in the quarter of Chitral (though the events of 1895, and the recent friction between the Khan of Nawagai and

Nawab of Dir, are omens not to be overlooked), or the Khyber, that danger is most to be apprehended. Our hold on Chitral is, or soon will be, very strong; while the loyalty and fidelity of the Khyber Rifles has been tested—too well tested, as August, 1897, can bear witness. It is in the Tochi and the Gomal and at Wana, in the heart and on the outskirts of Waziristan, that danger looms large. In 1899 scarce a fortnight, or even a week, passed that the Waziris did not commit some outrage. Yet the Government of India proposes to isolate its British officers in command of Waziri militia corps. We fear that the proposed light frontier railways, and the strong garrisons at Kohat, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, and Fort Sandeman, will avail these isolated officers little if the spirit moves the Waziri to play the traitor and murderer. As well might our missions at Herat in 1840, at Kandahar in 1857-58, at Kabul in 1879, have cried for aid to India as the solitary militia commandant at Wana or Tochi hope for rescue should his men prove false. We can but hope that the experiment will be most cautiously made, and that a good Providence may watch over the brave fellows who will go forth to do the work and bidding of the Government. When we look back on the frontier annals of the past sixty years, we find it a dark record of merciless treachery, brightened by rare rays of humanity, or, more probably, self-interest. We recall the fate of Burnes and Macnaghten, of Conolly and Stoddart, of the victims of Ghazni and Charikar, the awful butchery of Khurd-Kabul and Jagdalak, the cold-blooded murder of Dr. Forbes at Chakansur, the sad memory of Lieutenant MacLean, the fierce fight in which Cavagnari and his companions fell, the dastardly onslaught of Maizar, and the cowardly, pitiless slaughter of Sikhs at the caves of Koragh. Against this—and it is but a fraction of the atrocities committed—what have we to set? The calculated preservation of the Kabul hostages in 1842, the release of Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes, and the restoration alive of a sergeant and private in Tirah. The

officers who accept appointments in the Waziri Militia on the conditions proposed by the Government carry their lives in their hands.* Nothing new, most certainly. We can but wish their hands the power to keep their heads. If it be indeed true that in the event of the invasion of India by our great opponent in the East these tribesmen will fight loyally side by side with us, then this policy of controlling our frontier by a "local militia" will not have been tried in vain. If, on the other hand, they turn against us, it will brand itself as a failure. Much depends on the officers, military and political, who are sent among them. To secure to the Government the loyal adhesion of these tribesmen is an achievement of which any political officer may be proud, and is what duty demands of him.

However, the time is drawing nigh when the familiar term "North-West Frontier Policy" will be not so much a synonym for our relations with Pathan and Baluch clans and decadent despotisms, as the expression of India's position vis-à-vis to Russia. Six decades of strife and struggle with uncivilized but stubborn and hardy races have advanced our frontier until it marches from the Pamirs to the Indian Ocean, with Afghanistan in the north and Persia in the south. Behind these two declining monarchies looms Russia, biding her time. It is with her that India has to reckon. A piecemeal policy has served us indifferently well till now; but when India meets and marches with Russia, it must be with a united front. It is more than forty years since some of the soundest brains in India (John

* These corps are under the Foreign Office, not under the Commander-in-Chief in India. Locally they are under the orders and control of the chief police or political authority. Notwithstanding this, it is desirable that they should be inspected at least once a year by a competent military officer. Laxity at times creeps in with which a soldier best knows how to deal. Till very recently the Panjab Frontier force and the local corps of Rajputana, Central India, the Nizam's Territory, were not under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief in India. This is so no longer, but *en revanche*, seemingly, a new batch of frontier levies under political control is being raised. Frontier corps, if any, should be under the Commander-in-Chief. Under the existing régime it often falls to the lot of a civilian to inspect corps commanded by officers of the regular army.

Jacob, James Outram, Herbert Edwardes, and Harry Lumsden) counselled the formation of one Trans-Indus Province from Peshawar to the sea. In 1878 Lord Lytton had achieved it but for the outbreak of war with the Amir of Afghanistan. Once again since then the subject has been seriously considered, but nothing came of it. Russia, on the other hand, has now welded Turkestan, Transcaspia and Semirechensk into one Governor-Generalship, in this as in other things setting us an example. Her power consolidated in the Caucasus and Central Asia, linked by railways on the one side with the heart of the Empire, on the other with Siberia (or soon to be so), stands ready to act, to extend her railways across Persia to the port she covets on the Persian Gulf, or into Afghanistan, and to follow up her railways with her troops. India pleads economy and rests unready. Russia turns a deaf ear to economy, and, octopus-like, stretches her insatiable feelers to the Pacific, the Peiho, the Pamirs, and the Persian Gulf. The interests of India in Southern and Eastern Persia and in Turkish Arabia are vital, and those interests are endangered by Russian projects. The officers of the Indian Political Service have an onerous duty to perform in safeguarding those interests. If they do so successfully, they will add a fresh laurel to the many their service has already won. As the army and the political department in India have worked side by side, though not always in perfect unison, during the century now drawing to a close, for the consolidation of the Empire, so in the century that is dawning they must co-operate in unison, and each in its own sphere, for the stability and defence of that Empire. There must, above all, be no injudicious and ill-timed interference of political with military authority. It is the recognised right of the Government to dictate to the army when, under what conditions, and to what end war shall be taken ; but when the army has taken the field, it is for the military commander to decide in what way those conditions are to be fulfilled and that end attained. Civil Commissioners have ever been a thorn in the side of Generals. They were Marl-

borough's curse in Holland, as the Juntas were that of Wellington in Spain. A political officer in India, endowed with undue power, only differs from a Junta or a Dutch Commissioner in nationality. As the wars of the Peninsula and the Crimea bear witness to the evils of Court and Cabinet interference, so the first Afghan War is a monument of Governmental and political mismanagement. It is no secret that the ill-success of several recent expeditions on the North-West Frontier was due, not to faulty generalship, but to meddling and muddling by those who held and pulled the wires. In 1852 Sir Colin Campbell, having led a small expedition to the foot of the Malakand Pass. declined, in spite of the insistence of the Commissioner of Peshawar, to cross that pass with a force which he considered insufficient for the object which the Commissioner had in view. When Lord Dalhousie subsequently cast reflections on Sir Colin's decision and motives, the latter resigned his command. It would be well if more general officers followed Sir Colin's example when they find themselves hampered by political interference or wire-pulling, and not supported by the supreme Government. To take another leaf out of the book of our great rival in Asia, did we ever hear of the Kaufmanns, Tchernaieffs, Skobeloffs, Komaroffs, Vrevskys, and Kuropatkins being saddled with political officers? It would have been better had our Generals had an equally free hand. However, the days of "political" predominance are past. As Sir G. Pollock in 1842 so Sir F. Roberts and Sir Donald Stewart in 1879-80, and Sir W. Lockhart in 1897-98 combined in their own persons the military command and the chief political power. The status and duty of a political officer who accompanies an army in the field are now sufficiently well understood and defined. He is the staff officer of the General in command for (1) communication and negotiation with the people of the country; (2) the provision of and payment for everything supplied by that people; and (3) obtaining information. As political information is not unfrequently misleading (to wit, at Bamian in 1840,

Hykulzai in 1842, and Maiwand in 1880), the General in command will do well to use and rely upon his own sources of information, viz., his intelligence officers and reconnoitring-parties. Had General Burrows trusted the reports brought in by his cavalry on the eve of the Battle of Maiwand, he would have better understood the work that lay before him on the morrow, and, presumably, made a better disposition of his troops. This, however, is a point of detail. The essential principle to be observed is the *subordination* of the political authority to the General or other officer commanding a body of troops on active service. The recognition of this principle constitutes a debt of gratitude which the army in India has earned by the hard-won and often bitter experiences of the nineteenth century. If fully recognised, it will be a favourable augury for the issue of the vitally onerous task which lies before that army in the century about to commence. The year 1900 may be marked either as the jubilee or the centenary of the North-West Frontier. In that year the Government of India awoke to the danger of a possible, though then imaginary, Russo-French invasion of India, and sent John Malcolm to the Court of the Shah of Persia. Early in 1850 Sir Colin Campbell led the first trans-frontier expedition against the Afridis. The years 1800 and 1900 are years of mark in the history of that frontier.

NOTE.—The year 1900 is further marked as the centenary of the birth of Thomas Waghorn, the pioneer of the Overland Route. Like many another man of foresight and perseverance, he had to contend with indifference and opposition in high places. His reward is that his name is now honoured and celebrated, while those of his thwarters have passed into oblivion. The close of the nineteenth century has brought forth a number of books dealing with the Anglo-Russian question in Asia, but not all of them by any means can be accepted as a reliable guide. "The Making of a Frontier," by Colonel A. Durand, is the work of an officer who knows what he writes about, and writes about it well. "The Heart of Asia" has some merits as a résumé of early history, but as an authority on the past quarter of a century or a guide for the future it cannot be accepted. The statements and comments contained in it relative to the Russo-Afghan Frontier Delimitation of 1884-86 alone stamp it as not reliable. See Memoir of Mr. Waghorn, in our issue of October, 1898, pp. 386-395.

AFGHANISTAN: THE KEY TO INDIA.*

By Archibald R. Colquhoun.

The British nation has just come successfully through a struggle which, although few of us doubted its ultimate issue, has, nevertheless, caused us grave anxiety and absorbed a very large part of our time and thoughts. Just as the tension in South Africa is relaxed comes news of an alarming nature from the Far East, and attention is once more focussed on that part of the world. It is difficult, in such stirring times, among so many conflicting interests, to give time and attention to a subject which is not actually thrust upon us, upon which the Press is almost silent, and about which it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain accurate information. It is for this reason, among others, that I wish to bring under the notice of your readers one of these little-ventilated questions—one of the most vital importance to the Empire—which is being almost entirely overlooked in the tremendous problems which are agitating the world elsewhere. It must be borne in mind that this question, which treats of the slow but steady movement of Russia towards India, is no new one, nor is it a cry of Wolf! The possibility of such a movement has been frequently discussed, and frequently pooh-poohed. But the time has gone past for treating the matter so contemptuously.

At the present moment Russia is firmly established, at Kushk, on the Afghan frontier, at the very gates of Herat, whilst the British outposts are more than 400 miles distant—namely, at Chaman. This fact alone should surely arouse some apprehension.

It is acknowledged by her own writers that Russia's steady advance, aptly compared by Rawlinson to the laying of parallels in the siege of a fortress, has for its object the

* For the discussion on this paper, see the "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this Review.—Ed.

occupation of Herat and Western Afghanistan, and later of Kandahar and Southern Afghanistan—the gradual absorption, indeed, of the greater part of Afghanistan, and by this means the securing of easy access to, and commanding positions on, the Indian frontier. This is no isolated policy, but is part of a world scheme, and is connected indirectly with the war in South Africa, for the extremity of Britain is the opportunity of Russia, and in its results with the troubles in the Far East, where the action of Russia has been mainly responsible for the paralysis of the Chinese Government and the consequent disturbances. The position of Russia in Central Asia has during the last two decades undergone a fundamental change; the situation with regard to Afghanistan and the Indian frontier question especially is altogether different now from what it was some twenty years ago. At that time the country between Krasnovodsk and Afghanistan was not only in itself difficult to traverse, but was occupied by hostile peoples. All this has been altered, however, owing to the development of railways, and Russia, instead of having as her base of operations merely the far-distant Orenburg and the Caucasus, can now, thanks to her Transcaspian Railway, make use of Merv, Samarkand, and the terminal posts (Kushk and Margelan) as her starting-points, for a further forward movement; while, at the same time, the branch lines, already completed, have not been without their influence in civilizing and controlling the independent tribes—an influence which will be gradually extended by means of other lines of rail even now planned for future construction.

The physical features and political advantages of the Herat Valley, and the characteristics of the surrounding country in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, require some explanation. The advantages of the former to an invader lie in its great fertility, rendering it capable of supplying the wants of a large body of troops, in its plentiful supply of grain, and therefore of fodder, etc., and in the number of

important roads which it dominates, thus giving the command of the chief passes into India. The town of Herat itself is potentially, if not actually under present conditions, a great commercial centre, not only as regards the trading routes into the Caucasus, Turkistan and Asia Minor generally, but also those leading to Afghanistan, Persia, Baluchistan and India; and is most favourably placed at the junction of the principal roads of Afghanistan—namely, those to Balkh, Kabul, Farrah and Kandahar. Herat is on the line of least resistance, so far as an invasion of India is concerned, and, in fact, through this district and through Baluchistan lie the easiest and, indeed, the only practicable routes for a large body of troops. Russia would certainly find the Herat Valley an admirable base from which to further extend her influence into the country. Not the least of the advantages which would accrue to her through its occupation would be the increase of prestige which such a proceeding would secure to her throughout Central Asia, which would of necessity bring about a corresponding decline in British influence.

With regard to Afghanistan generally the population (about 4,000,000) is for the most part composed of warlike independent tribes, each ruled by a Khan nominated by the Ameer, who is himself Khan of the chief tribe, the Duranis. These tribes, aided by the mountainous nature of the country, carry on petty warfare amongst themselves, and, as a consequence, a continual state of anarchy prevails. With British help, the Ameer has for the present succeeded in enforcing some sort of order throughout his territories; but mutinies and feuds are still of frequent occurrence, the tribes resorting to their favourite—guerilla—warfare, and defying, in their mountain fastnesses, the attempts made to subjugate them.

Although fortresses, in the generally accepted sense of the term, are non-existent, almost every town and village is in itself strong for defence, Herat, Kandahar, Farrah, Ghazni, and many other places possessing natural positions

of great strength. The Ameer's attitude, a matter of grave importance in the event of hostilities between Britain and Russia, is problematical. According to Vambéry, he is perfectly indifferent to both Powers, his own words on the subject being: "What matters it whether it be white dog or black dog; they are both dogs!" He is nervous concerning the aims of Russia, wishes to know what Britain means to do, and complains of the indecision of our Government. The Russians claim him as Russophil, but, on the whole, it may be taken that he regards Russia with the greater amount of fear. But the life of the Ameer is uncertain, and what will happen on the occasion of his death no one can foretell, except that internal dissensions will certainly arise, and that Russia will utilize the opportunity.

Baluchistan, lying to the south of the Suleiman range, is a plateau with an average height of about 5,000 feet. Being for the most part desert land, and bounded on west, south, and east by mountains, the country would present considerable, but not insuperable, difficulties to an invader having designs on India; for a railway, as the Soudan has shown, can be made in such a country, and large forces, with the aid of a railway, could be despatched by this route. The area of Baluchistan is a little over 6,000 square geographical miles, the total population amounting to 500,000, and consisting of various tribes, each under a hereditary ruler known as a "sirdar." These tribes acknowledge as their supreme chief the Khan of Kelat, the country being under the protection of, and in effect being ruled by, the British, who have the right of placing garrisons at any desired point, and who maintain an agent permanently at Kelat. The native available fighting material amounts to some 60,000 men, but the Khans have always found it impossible to get together more than 12,000 of these, armed in the most primitive fashion.

By some Russian writers it is considered that England, having regard to the difficulties confronting her, would not at the present time regard with so much alarm as formerly

a possible Russian occupation of the Herat valley. But Britain, it is to be hoped, has not lost sight of the fact that, though Herat itself may not be the absolute key to the plains of the Indus, as it was once called, it nevertheless remains the key to Afghanistan, which is itself the key to India.

In carrying out a further advance into Afghanistan, and thence into India, Russia will take as her bases the military districts of the Trans-Caspian and of Turkestan, which are now easy of access not only to each other, but to forces despatched from European Russia. From these bases the two practicable routes for large bodies of troops are: the one passing by way of Herat, opening the way to Kandahar; and that passing through the Turkestan district through Bokhara by way of Mazar-i-Sherif and Bamian towards Kabul. The former of these two routes is certainly the more feasible, for, passing through comparatively easy country and populous districts, the means for transport are ready to hand, while supplies of every kind are abundant. The second route indicated, on the other hand, lacks most of these advantages, and, where it crosses the Hindoo Kush, presents almost insuperable difficulties for wheeled vehicles of any kind, pack-horses being practically the only means of transport. There exists also a route direct from Herat to Kabul, by way of the Hari-Rud; but this is, for the present at least, an improbable route, passing through mountainous regions inhabited by independent and warlike tribes, and so far little explored.

Once in possession of Herat, Russia's further movements, when politically the opportunity arose, would depend to a large extent upon transport possibilities, and upon the capacity for supplies of the Trans-Caspian and Herat districts, and of Persian Khorasan. With regard to the Trans-Caspian region, large quantities of barley and wheat are produced, and would probably be adequate to the support of very large numbers of men, whilst transport off the railway line is chiefly by means of pack-horses and

camels. The Herat valley has been described as the richest region—"the granary"—of Central Asia, and, as has been said, produces abundant supplies of corn. As for Khorasan, it is by no means a poor country. In the more northern portion of the province grain is abundant, and cattle-breeding is largely carried on, transport being by means of horses, camels, and donkeys. Southern Khorasan is, it is true, not so rich as the more northern districts, but could probably support over 15,000 men. Its greatest drawback is lack of water. Seistan is undoubtedly one of the richest parts of Southern Khorasan, and the whole region is capable of development by the introduction of irrigation and railway lines, as has been successfully accomplished elsewhere. Russia would probably have little difficulty in extending her influence into Seistan; for the people, discontented with their own Government, look with favour upon the Russians since slavery has been abolished in Bokhara and Khiva, and are also grateful to them for having to a large extent put an end to the Turkoman raids into the province. Russia's prestige, on the whole, stands high with the people of Khorasan, and as she has a reputation for religious toleration, she would probably have the mullahs on her side, and, in any case, could easily secure their support by the judicious employment of the rouble. As yet unable to interfere actively in the British sphere of influence by placing agents at Kabul, Kandahar, or Kelat, Russia has already introduced the thin end of the wedge into Seistan and Kerman, between which places and St. Petersburg there is a system of expeditious communication by means of camels and flying posts.

It is a very obvious fact, if an unpleasant one, that if once Russia gains possession of Herat (from which place she could easily advance her troops to Kandahar), Britain will not be able to wrest that town from her. The Russians are quite confident that the present British military strength in India is altogether insufficient to cope with such a development.

Russia has not neglected preliminaries. Her plan of campaign, as openly acknowledged by her own writers, is to send agents, in time of peace, to make explorations in the coveted territory, and to carefully study the means of supply and transport; to collect stores of provisions at or in the neighbourhood of Herat (a task now easy of accomplishment, since the extension to Kushk of the railway line branching off from the Trans-Caspian line); to push on the railway beyond Andijan and Margelan, and to establish magazines at important strategic points.

It was the opinion of Lord Curzon some years ago that should Russia attempt the seizure of Herat, England would find it easy, having materially shortened and facilitated the necessary routes, to make an effective counter-movement by effecting an occupation of Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul; but the Russian plan includes Kandahar and the whole south, leaving only Kabul and the north-east portion of Afghanistan to the British.

The Russian view of the situation generally is well expressed in the words of General Sobolev, who, in his work on "The Anglo-Afghan Conflict," says: "We undertake to doubt the ability of the English to assume the offensive from India. Neither the internal situation nor the organization of the Anglo-Indian army is compatible with the policy of advance. We are deeply convinced of the truth of this statement, which is clearly demonstrated by the campaign we have studied. The English waged war with a portion of the Afghan people, who had at that time neither a properly constituted Government nor a regular army; and yet they suffered reverse after reverse, which brought all their proud demands from the people to naught. A large English army, led into Afghanistan and commanded by trained officers, amongst whom were many talented generals, was not able to conquer a portion of a weak neighbouring kingdom, which was, moreover, in a state of anarchy." Such are generally the views held in Russia.

Many English military writers, as is well known, advocate the policy of defending India on her present frontiers alone, opposing the enemy only when he emerges from the mountain passes. This school does not favour the taking up of advanced positions, but trusts greatly to the physical difficulties of the intervening country and the turbulent character of the people to prevent invasion. These views, of course, are worthy of consideration, but the arguments in favour of defending Afghanistan itself, and thus protecting India, are of infinitely greater weight. Even the best defended of mountain frontiers does not always, as history has frequently recorded, form an impregnable defence, and further, if the plains of the Indus are made the sole line of defence, and Afghanistan allowed to fall entirely into the hands of Russia, the result is a strong and possibly hostile Western Power on the very borders of India, instead of a weak, but (ostensibly) friendly Oriental one. Moreover, another great disadvantage, and that the gravest, of a policy of passive defence, is that it leaves to Russia an open road to the Persian Gulf and to Baluchistan. In order properly to defend our Indian Empire, it is necessary to defend Afghanistan, the bulwark of India. Russia's ascendancy in Afghanistan would have far-reaching effects. To give up any one of the Afghan provinces to Russia would open the door to more, and would be a constant source of danger for India. The true line of defence for India is to go forward, to occupy Kabul, Kandahar, and Ghazni, and to establish outposts on the Hindu Kush, reserving the right to make a further advance beyond the Helmund towards Seistan, and elsewhere if necessary. I have no desire to minimize the many difficulties in the way of such a policy, but I do not believe them to be insuperable, and I can see no alternative which will afford a really lasting solution to the problem. It is possible to *tinker* the situation, but not to *mend* it by half measures.

In any case, Britain should prepare, and not allow herself

to be taken at a disadvantage, as has been the case in the Far East and in South Africa. At present little has been done except to protect the mouths of the passes opening on to the Indus plains; a most unsafe plan of defence, as has been pointed out. A better method would be to open up communications throughout Afghanistan, and to develop trade with the natives. Fortified posts at desirable points should be established, supported by magazines and depots, particularly at such points as Kabul, Kandahar, and Ghazni. It is not my province to deal with the general plan of such a campaign, but it requires, in order to be successful, the extension of railways—for instance, a railway from Peshawar to Kabul, and the extension of the Indus-Bolan line by way of Nushki and south of the Helmund river (through Baluchistan) to Seistan, with branch lines to Kandahar and Kabul; also a direct line from Chaman to Kandahar, and eventually a southern extension from Seistan to the Persian Gulf.

England does not seem to realize, as does Russia, the value of strategic—especially strategic-commercial—railways. No better object lesson as to the desirability of constructing such lines could be supplied than that presented by the Trans-Siberian-Manchurian Railway, which is accomplishing a transformation of the Far East. If, from motives of economy, the money for their construction be withheld, the eventual cost to the Empire will be disproportionately large. Such lines are in reality the cheapest defence. There is no doubt that, to counterbalance the development of Russian lines between the Caspian and Afghanistan, a British line should be constructed from Quetta to Seistan, with branches south to the Persian Gulf, a system which can eventually be linked with that of the Euphrates valley —the Indo-European route. The importance of such lines for the transport of large bodies of troops, who could otherwise only move slowly along roads only fitted for pack transport, is incalculable; and the truth of this will at once make itself felt when Britain has to face the problem of a

Russian occupation of Herat, a far from remote contingency.

A great disadvantage under which the Anglo-Indian army labours, and one which would greatly hinder its powers of mobility in the event of a campaign amongst the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan, is the very large number of "followers," or non-combatants, attached to it, these followers doing the transport and similar work. To carry food in a difficult country for such a vast number of non-fighters—men unsuited to such a rigorous climate—would be not only a far from easy proceeding—it might be disastrous to the British arms, and, apart from the perfection of railway communication, some reform in this respect is essential. In speaking of the general immobility of the Anglo-Indian army, a German officer, resident for some time in India, pointed out that the Indian railways have no double lines, and, moreover, that different railways have different gauges; the amount of rolling-stock is insufficient, and the necessary knowledge regarding the entraining and detraining of troops and transport is lacking. All these circumstances, in his opinion, would certainly militate most seriously against rapidity in the transportation of troops. The Russians estimate that the mobilization of the Anglo-Indian army would take considerably longer than the time required to prepare the Russian troops for an advance, and that the former, on arriving at Herat, would discover that place already occupied in force by Russian troops, and would find their position hopeless should the Russians then send a force by way of Seistan to turn Herat, an exploit which would be by no means impossible, seeing that this route is not difficult to traverse.

If Russia were as impregnable as she thinks herself, or Britain ready to surrender the sceptre of Empire, then there would be little use in discussing the question of the struggle for Asia—it would be a foregone conclusion. But in expansion lies at once Russia's strength and her weakness. When, by means of long lines of communication,

she establishes herself in ports, she becomes vulnerable, unless she is able to have a solid hinterland—a white man's country—which can be occupied as at Port Arthur. She is, too, expanding at a rate with which her internal economy and resources can hardly keep pace, and it must be remembered that she is still young in Empire—at least 200 years behind ourselves. There is still time to check her in her career of conquest, but that cannot be done until in her progress southwards and sunwards she meets a power stronger than herself—resolute, determined, a hard organism instead of a soft one. That power can only be Britain. Nor will it be sufficient for Britain to sit still within her frontiers, she must be prepared to move forward. She has to consider her Eastern colonies as well as her Indian Empire, and to keep open not only the Indo-European communications, but those with Australasia, a difficult matter if Russia once achieves the ascendancy of the Persian Gulf. But it is not at any one particular point in Asia that Britain requires to stiffen her policy; it is all along the line of Russian advance.

The time has gone by for buffer States in Asia; in China, in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, or Persia. Russia has long since made up her mind on this point, and where we do *not* go she certainly *will*. The effective and immediate introduction into these territories of British capital, British railways, British influence, is absolutely essential if we do not wish to find our rival there before us.

I will conclude by giving an extract from a standard work—Mackenzie Wallace's "Russia"—which practically puts the case in a nutshell: "Where, then," asks the alarmed Russophobist, "is the aggression of Russia to stop? Must we allow her to push her frontiers to our own, and thereby expose ourselves to the danger of those conflicts which inevitably arise between nations that possess contiguous territory? To this I reply that Russia must push forward her frontier until she reaches a country possessing a Government which is able and willing to keep

order within its boundaries, and to prevent its subjects from committing depredations on its neighbours. As none of the petty states of Central Asia seem capable of permanently fulfilling this condition, it is pretty certain that the Russian and British frontiers will one day meet. Where they will meet depends upon ourselves. If we do not wish our rival to overstep a certain line, we must ourselves advance to that line. As to the complications and disputes which inevitably arise between contiguous nations, I think they are fewer and less dangerous than those which arise between nations separated from each other by a small State which is incapable of making its neutrality respected, and is kept alive simply by the mutual jealousy of rival Powers."

FAMINE IN INDIA: PRECAUTION.

By R. Carstairs, I.C.S.

In the year now passing (1900) much anxiety is felt as to the future of India in respect of famine. About a generation ago the Government adopted the policy, ever since emphatically adhered to, of preventing, with all its resources, loss of life through famine. Several famines have occurred since then, and experience has enabled it to elaborate the methods of relief so as to make them economical and efficient. Hitherto the expense of relief has been provided. The special anxiety has arisen on account of the alarming increase in the number of those seeking for relief. In 1897 the famine was in this respect a record one, but the famine now being endured has eclipsed it completely, the number already getting relief being five and a half millions, an unheard-of number. This relief is being administered by the State—that is, at the expense of the solvent parts of India—to the insolvent parts of the population. One naturally asks, How far can this go? Can it be checked?

I propose to direct the remarks which follow to this question. I shall not touch on the question of actual relief operations.

As everyone knows, famine is caused by a deficiency in the available supply of food, which causes part of the population to starve. We call it famine when the deficiency is large and the starvation felt by a considerable proportion of the population. Even where there is famine, the greater part of the people manage to get food. It would be a severe famine in which the proportion of those needing relief reached 15 per cent. of the whole. As there are always in all communities some who are in want of food, it can only be an arbitrary line which separates a state of famine from one of scarcity, and the latter from ordinary times.

In order that famine may be more easily relieved, two measures have been adopted—one, the improvement of communications, especially by rail; and the other the provision of work in famine areas, and payment in wages and charity of daily sums sufficient to enable those in distress to buy food. Private trade is trusted to produce the food when and where required, and Government, to insure its doing so, undertakes not to interfere with its action, either in moving grain about or in fixing market prices. For the relief of distress in famine-stricken areas these measures have answered their purpose. Whereas formerly a famine, like that in Orissa, might devastate a limited area in the presence of plenty elsewhere, the stocks of areas where there has been no failure are now drawn upon, and the acuteness of the distress is mitigated. As the refusal of Government to limit prices and to forbid the export of grain is contrary to local opinion outside the actual famine area, I propose to examine the effects of the Government policy on the condition of the country at large.

India is often spoken of as a poor country. She is in reality a very rich country, of whose enormous wealth far too much is spent as it is made in feeding her vast population. Her population is living, for the most part, from hand to mouth, so that if there is a failure of crops in any area repeated more than once, the narrow margin of supply over demand disappears, and famine begins.

The food of the country is grain. Grain is the staple produce, to which the people trust for paying rent, debt, wages, and all obligations. When the grain fails, the collapse is complete.

Of the grain produced, only a small proportion goes into the market. Most of the grain produced over and above what is needed for the producer's consumption, and often a good deal of that also, passes after harvest into the granaries of the traders, in whose hands the bulk of the stock remains.

The rural parts of India are not like England. Metal

coin plays a minor part in their business transactions. Rents and wages are most often paid, goods bartered, loans made and repaid without the passing of any coin. The currency used is chiefly grain, which passes into and out of the granaries of the money-lenders as cash would in England.

At the same time, the ultimate measure of value, metal currency, though seldom in use, is always in the background, governing the market. It is in active use in connection with commerce and manufactures, and has been brought into use even among the cultivators by the enforcement of money rents in place of rents in kind.

Broadly, however, it may be said that metal coin is the currency actually used by commerce, and grain that used by agriculture. Tight grain to the rural population means tight money.

I come now to my point. In the famine area there is a failure in the production of grain, the currency of the rural population, and consequently a collapse of their purchasing power. They have nothing to buy food with, however much they may want it. Their want, however acute, does not therefore disturb the affairs of neighbouring areas, because it is not an effective demand. Now steps in Government with its relief, paid in metal coin, the currency of commerce, and for the time being creates an enormous artificial and effective demand, undertaking to pay any price the market may choose to make on account of any number of persons who may satisfy its tests. Famine prices are always, measured in coin, enormously high; that is, the price obtained for grain at famine rates will probably buy next season three or four times the quantity of grain sold.

By means of the railways this new effective demand, created by the Government offer of famine prices in cash for unlimited quantities of grain, comes into competition with the demand of the population of areas where the crops have not failed, who receive no aid from Government to meet

that competition. Agriculturists have only the prospect of future crops to give, and non-agriculturists their cash income. Both future crops and cash income are, compared with the temporary value of grain, greatly depreciated in value, as is everything they have to offer except grain. The stock of grain is chiefly in the hands of traders, who, being at liberty to charge what prices they can get, and take their grain where they like, are very ready to carry off to the famine area grain that is wanted for local consumption, and to refuse grain to local consumers except on extortionate terms. The extent to which they do this will depend greatly on the extent of the artificial demand created by Government relief, and that, to all appearance, is going up by leaps and bounds. The burden of finding funds for relief is heavy on the solvent areas. The competition which those funds, furnished by themselves, create with their own local demands is, however, a still more serious burden, dislocating as it does all local business.

Such being the facts, there is no doubt that we are face to face with a very grave danger, which can only be met by attacking the causes of famine at their roots. Mere relief given to a distressed population may become in itself a cause of famine in future years, and thus aggravate the evil.

The cause of famine is a temporary excess of demand over supply. Demand is in proportion to population. The excess of demand is caused usually by a reduction in the supply, owing to failure of crops. There are therefore two points at which we can attack the causes of famine—viz., (1) by checking the increase of population, especially in insolvent areas ; (2) by preventing fluctuations in the supply of grain.

The suggestions which follow do not aim at an exhaustive statement of all possible remedies, but are intended rather to indicate the manner in which remedies should be sought out and applied.

I will first deal with checking increase of population.

The State, having done its best to counteract the old natural checks of war, disease, and famine, is, in the interests of solvent areas, bound to provide, if possible, some substitute for them. I suggest two—education and repression.

Taking first education, by which I mean not merely keeping schools, but that opening of the understanding which leads to civilization, I think there are two means which the State can very fittingly bring into use—viz., civil organization and good roads. I shall attempt to offer on each of these a few general thoughts for consideration. In a country where distances are so great and circumstances vary so much, anything like detail would be out of place, except as illustration.

We want the people to be intelligent and prudent, with a view to checking the number of mouths to be filled in famine time. It is necessary, especially in famine relief, census, and sanitary work, that the people should be considered and dealt with one by one. The mass should be looked upon as an aggregate of individuals, and not the individual as a fraction of a mass. The ordinary and best method of doing this is to arrange the people by localities, the population of each local area being a corporate person. These local areas can similarly be grouped within larger areas. By *local* I mean local in the natural sense. The people of a local area live within reach—that is, within a few miles—of one another. There is another sense of the word, by which anything smaller, however great, or nearer, however far off, is described as local relatively to something greater or more distant. In this sense, to the Secretary of State, living in London, the Viceroy of India, living somewhere in India, is local. Similarly, the road cess, levied over an area of several thousand square miles, is called a local rate, and is considered to have been locally spent if spent anywhere within that area.

Except to a limited extent in villages, the rural population has not yet been to any appreciable extent organized into groups. I believe, from a long and careful study of

the subject, that the whole country can and ought to be, for the purposes of local government, organized into local groups. Assuming that this will be done, we shall have to develop and guide the minds and wills of the corporate persons thus brought into existence; to breathe into them the spirit of progress; to point out for them higher standards of living and conduct, and to induce them to work towards those standards. It is wonderful how quickly the conservative native of India adopts and reverences as a custom a new practice which commends itself to him. Uniform action or progress is not to be expected or desired. Let each go its own pace in its own way, and we may trust to the more forward drawing on by their example those that are not advancing so quickly, raising the whole people to a higher stage of civilization. To hasten this movement it would be safe for Government to make use of the strong, intelligent, and disinterested body of officers in its service. The people in India, to a far greater extent than in England, look to the Government for a lead.

The second means of education—good roads—might almost have been included in the first, for if organized communities are bodies, roads are the arteries which carry the traffic, their blood. Something has been done for roads by the State, whose aid, in a country of minute and mixed landed interests, is needed at each step of the way. Some few good main roads, and a somewhat greater length of bad minor roads, have been provided. In my opinion there is a great want, in rural areas, of good minor roads and adequate trunk roads.

I have been harping on this want during most of my official career, and pointing out what I thought was the proper remedy. The first important point to settle is the want. Are roads wanted, and for what? What will be a reasonable standard of efficiency?

The population has a density of hundreds and sometimes upwards of a thousand to the square mile. As railways are few, and waterways in most parts non-existent,

the communities depend for the carriage of their traffic on roads. They consist of families, each with its residence, and each residence is the origin and end of one of those numberless tiny streams of traffic which go to form the greater streams that attract attention.

Each family needs a right of way from its own door to the neighbours' houses, fields, market, school, medical man, and the like. The way must be kept in a fit state by levelling, hardening the surface, and bridging, to carry wheeled traffic easily and cheaply all the year round. Where the volume of traffic is heavy, the road must be metalled. This is a reasonable standard. There are some who would deny the need of so high a standard in India, on the ground that she is a poor country, and does not need roads. India is potentially rich; but if she were poor she would have all the more need for roads, which are the chief creators of wealth.

As to how they are to be provided, I shall here pass over in silence my own plan, which has so far failed to win approval. The great thing is to get the work done, whatever plan may be adopted. My plan is on record, and can at any time be referred to. I attach importance to the end, not the means.

A good system of roads, besides creating wealth, and serving many purposes, will educate the people by promoting intercourse, and by bringing to their knowledge much that they could not otherwise hear of or see.

This finishes what I have to say about the education of the people. I hope that civil organization and good roads will, by creating capital and improving the understanding of the people, raise their productive capacity and their standard of living. To the latter result I look for an increase in the margin between production and consumption of food. The people will, I hope, be less ready to increase their numbers at every increase of supply, having new wants to satisfy.

I come now to the second means proposed for keeping

down the population—repression. That is only wanted for those areas which are insolvent, needing help from the State in supporting their inhabitants. The need may be temporary or it may become chronic. The fear is that in some areas it may be chronic. It is the right of the State, and a duty owing to the solvent areas, to impose on insolvent areas towards itself the responsibility it has itself assumed for preserving life, and to enforce on the several communities a reasonable amount of prudence and forbearance. This can best be done by imposing on the inhabitants of areas that have had to take help from the State for famine relief, a special tax, whose proceeds are to be devoted to the repayment of the sums so taken. The double object of this tax is to force on the inhabitants in good years the memory of the bad years, and prevent them from presuming on temporary plenty ; and to bring pressure to bear on the surplus population that they may emigrate. Such a tax, to be efficient, must be harsh. There is a distinct tendency, which is encouraged by the Government relief policy, for the poor recklessly to increase their numbers in good times, and trust to State relief when bad times come. This tendency ought to be suppressed, even by harshness. Having as far as possible done away with Nature's checks —war, disease, and famine—the State is bound to apply a check of its own, and the tax proposed, harsh as it is, is a good deal milder than any of these.

It may be asked what is to be done if the tax cannot be made to produce the whole amount of the debt. We can write off the irrecoverable balance. We write off more than that now. If it is thought that the exaction of the money from a poor area keeps back its development, there is nothing to hinder the whole proceeds and more from being granted in aid of development. The object of the tax is not to make revenue, but to prevent the area taxed from becoming a burden on the solvent parts of the country. It would be quite consistent with that object to make grants for development and at the same time impose the special tax.

I have finished what I have to say on checking population, and go on to the second proposed remedy for famine —checking fluctuation in supply—with which is mixed up the question of fluctuation of prices.

As regards fluctuation in supply, there are two ways of checking this: one, to reduce the chance of failure of crops; the other, to form a locally appropriated reserve.

I take first the question of reducing the chance of failure. This may be done by giving the fullest protection to crops grown, and discouraging the cultivation of crops known to be precarious. As this part of the subject consists of detail, I take leave, as the best way of explaining what I mean, to give an illustration.

In the part of the country I know, the staple crop is winter rice. This crop needs for its production a great deal of labour, which is wanted more or less all round the year. The crop depends throughout on water-supply. Formerly it used to be grown almost exclusively in hollows and marshes, where it was safe from drought; but now it is grown also on high land, where, unless artificially protected, it is likely to fail one year in every three. There is in the driest season a sufficient fall of rain to irrigate the whole crop. A good many cultivators store the rain as it falls, and so protect their crops; but many gamble on the rainfall, trusting to luck. As the State has to pay their stakes when they lose, I think the Government is entitled, being thus dragged into their affairs, to insist on a substitution for this reckless gambling of prudent business methods, and require the provision of reservoirs sufficient to make up, by irrigation, at least for the loss caused by the premature stoppage of the rains, which frequently destroys a fourth of the whole produce. There is no practical difficulty in the way of this provision being made, and the law can be changed if it raises artificial obstacles.

Irrigation works for all purposes should no doubt also be encouraged, whether made by the State, or by private

capitalists, or by the owners or occupiers of arable land. The money spent in feeding the people during one famine would have gone far to prevent the famine if spent the season before. If some of the rice land is allowed to go out of cultivation because of the cost or difficulty of providing irrigation for it, so much the better. Better no crop than a precarious one.

This illustration indicates what might be done on a careful examination of local circumstances to reduce the chance of failure of crops.

I come now to the formation of a grain reserve. I have already stated that the stock of grain remains in the hands of the traders, and that the traders, being free, through the policy of Government, to move their stocks where they will, and ask for what prices they choose; being encouraged, also, by the policy of Government, to demand locally extortionate prices on pain of the stock being withheld and carried elsewhere, exercise their power to the hurt of the community. This is an evil that requires a remedy. I do not propose that there should be any interference with the freedom of traders by way of prohibiting export or limiting prices. I do think it desirable, however, to keep more of the stock out of their hands. In illustration of my meaning, I will quote an experiment made by myself.

Some seven or eight years ago there was a scarcity, and, to help the tenants of a particular estate in my charge, we advanced about 230 maunds of grain (a maund is about 80 lb.) to some of them, on condition that for every maund advanced they should return after harvest a maund and a half. This is the customary rate charged in ordinary times by private creditors. The advances were duly repaid, and the proceeds stored. After deducting the cost of storage and watching, the whole stock was redistributed on the same terms next season. Year by year distribution and recovery were made, until, on taking the last account, I found we had in our granaries upwards of 4,000 maunds

There had been a famine year, and the only difference we made was to take back 1¼ maunds instead of 1½ maunds for each maund advanced. We had practically no bad debts and no lawsuits. I was able to offer this "grain bank" to Government as a going concern, with substantial capital and no debts, for employment in the service of the tenants of this estate. I am not aware whether the offer was accepted.

I see nothing to prevent the establishment of "grain banks" like this in numbers all over the country. The initial expense of one is small, and it makes its own capital. It can be managed by unlearned persons. All that is needed is reasonable prudence in selecting the persons who are to get advances, and in fixing what they are to get. It is not intended for charity to the destitute, but for the support of capable persons.

I anticipate the day when there will be a network of local authorities overspreading rural India, and each of these will be managing one or more grain banks.

Such grain banks, so far as established, secure for local use the stock they hold. Advances can be made in times of scarcity on easier instead of harder terms. If the time comes when there is a surplus not needed locally, it can be disposed of, and the proceeds used for local public objects. As these banks are public institutions, a lien might be given on their surplus only, to dispose of it on ordinary terms, if required, for famine relief elsewhere. This would tend to steady market prices and reduce the cost of relief. The grain banks would also probably, by their example and competition, tend to promote among private traders a more kindly and reasonable way of doing business than is now commonly found.

I have remarked that with the question of fluctuation in supply is mixed up that of fluctuation of prices. That is partly owing to the fact that, while metal coin is the currency of commerce, grain is still to a great extent that of the rural community. The Government policy of famine

relief by means of payments in metal currency would work more smoothly if that currency were more generally used. I will only touch on this subject by suggesting that the use, as a measure of value, of coin, which is a known quantity of metal, would be greatly increased by the enforcement of uniform weights and measures. Weights and measures now vary from market to market, and, where these vary so much for all other commodities, the advantage of money alone being of a fixed weight is to a considerable extent lost. In one part of my district we introduced standard grain measures, whose popularity was shown by the fact that several thousands were sold (not given away), and that spurious imitations were secretly bought by dishonest traders at three or four times the price of the genuine ones. As a consequence, I believe, of their introduction, cash payments began to supersede barter, and large quantities of copper coin were passed into circulation.

I have tried in these observations to show how by educating the people through local organization and good roads, by reducing loss of crop and securing a reasonable share of it for local consumption, and by promoting the use in rural districts of a metal currency, something may be done to meet a real danger threatening India in connection with the famine policy of Government. My limited object has been to point out the danger, and show that we can do something to meet it by action instead of awaiting it with folded hands.

THE BLUE BOOK ON GOVERNMENT CHURCHES IN INDIA.

By Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E.

The Blue Book on the "Use of Government Churches in India," lately presented to Parliament, affords answers to some of the questions raised in my article in the last October number of this Review. It brings the correspondence up to March 27, 1900, and enables us to see the gains and losses of the several Christian Churches in the conflict arising out of Lord Curzon's action in superseding Lord Elgin's orders.

The consent of the local Bishop, and in appeals, of his superior, the Metropolitan at Calcutta, must still be got before any Presbyterian or Wesleyan service can be held in a consecrated church. The unanimous desire of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (p. 25) is refused, and it gets no redress against Lord Curzon's order, "placing soldiers belonging to the Church of Scotland and other Presbyterian Churches entirely under the control of the chief officer of the Anglican Church in India, so far as regards the use of the churches, which were built for all British-born soldiers," as the Moderator complained. This grievance is keenly resented by the Scots in India; they object to get by *favour* of a Bishop what they claim of *right* as Scotsmen and Protestants. However, they have henceforth to accept what their Chaplain at Madras rightly calls an inferior position (p. 37).

Even as regards churches not already consecrated, but awaiting the ceremony, the inferiority is to be established by Lord George Hamilton's orders, as in the matter of Solon Church, where the Presbyterian soldiers had to get a Bishop's permission after using the church unchallenged for several weeks (p. 43).

Lord George Hamilton's reasons are that the Church of

England and its consecrating authority have both a legal and a moral control over the buildings (p. 41). High legal opinions have been taken, and he declines to discuss further (p. 49). The opinions are *not* published; but we find that the right to control is not based on the act of consecration, but on the *voluntary acts* of the Indian Government, which has sometimes by solemn document given away its rights in these buildings to the Bishop, and sometimes done so by solemn assurance or promise, while the keep-up and repairs are defrayed out of Indian taxation. These are the acts on which the Bishops now rely. In these respects India is in the same legal position as Scotland. The ecclesiastical law of England prohibits Presbyterian and Nonconforming services in churches after they have been consecrated by Bishops; but this law is not in force in India or Scotland. If a Scottish School Board got a Bishop to consecrate a school, the ceremony would have no legal effect; but if the School Board executed a deed, transferring the building to the Bishop, the Bishop would insist on his rights at law. He would doubtless fail, as the judges would hold that the School Board, being only trustee for the whole public, had no power to give away its control of public property to a sect. It would appear that, although there have been some exceptions, the usual custom of the Indian Government has been to refuse to part with its rights, or to hand over the land or building; and the Governor-General, in 1852, plainly stated that the property belonged to the Government, even when the church had been partly built by private subscriptions (p. 31). This principle was again asserted in Sir Charles Wood's rules of 1860, and those of Lord Elgin in 1898. In 1867 the Government declined to sanction the consecration of a church at Bolarum, mainly on the ground that a church at an exclusively military station ought not to be consecrated, but ought to remain available for any and all denominations of Protestant Christians.

However, Lord George Hamilton insists that, where the

control has been voluntarily given over to the Bishop, with the Bishop it must and shall remain, *even when the Government pays for the keep-up.*

As to the Bishop's *moral* right of control, his Lordship gives several reasons. Some of the money for the original building expenses was paid by Episcopalian subscribers. The idea of the Scottish Church, that "all churches constructed wholly or in part from Government funds should be under secular authority," however plausible, is not, in his opinion, practicable. It belongs, he says, to bygone days, when a belief, since exploded, in the possibility of a general undenominational religion common to all Christians prevailed to some extent (p. 41). Surely the Secretary of State does not mean that the practices in Sir Charles Wood's time and in Lord Elgin's are those of bygone days! His reasoning seems too theological and too high-pitched, as we all know that Governors and Commanders-in-Chief can regulate these matters better than Bishops, and actually did so without complaint from either Church. Then he goes on to what seem to be two mistakes of fact: "The War Office in this country, as I have ascertained, no longer builds churches common to all denominations; when a church is built, it is assigned to the use of the particular denomination whose proved wants it supplies. In India this practice has from the earliest days of the East India Company prevailed." Now, as we have already seen, the Indian Government churches have always been used, when circumstances made such use necessary, by Presbyterians as well as Episcopalians. Lord Elgin admitted Wesleyan soldiers two years ago, and Bishop Welldon is ready to let Baptists have their own services. As regards the practice in England, the Rev. Theodore Marshall, D.D., seems to have silenced the Secretary of State by producing a letter from the War Office in 1894, when the very same question arose at Aldershot (p. 45): "As a general principle, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman thinks it would be highly inconvenient that War Department buildings used for public

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worship by troops should be consecrated, and it is not his intention to sanction it in other cases." The Committee of the General Assembly seem to me to have got the best of the argument about the moral right of control.

Dr. Marshall, dealing with the *legal* right, informed the Secretary of State that the Committee would use all constitutional means to alter the law which gave exclusive control to the Episcopacy. They call the law invidious and unjust, and expect to be supported by the country (p. 43); the Church and people of Scotland will not accept the words "after obtaining the sanction of the Metropolitan" (p. 45). Lord George Hamilton takes no notice of these threats; he can afford to rest tranquil with a Government majority of 150 in the House of Commons, especially as there has been no sign of any real pressure by Scottish Members on either side of the House to secure any relief to Presbyterians.

The Church of Scotland has, however, accepted an offer from the Secretary of State of new churches at large military stations where the Church of England will not adjust matters (pp. 27, 32, 41). There are, however, plain objections from the point of view of religious equality: The Church of England remains sole master of the existing buildings; the Church of Scotland and the Wesleyans are to be huddled together, and probably the other Presbyterian Churches and the English Nonconformists will be driven into the same pen. This is a step towards treating them, and the Church of Scotland also, as Nonconformists; while the Church of England gets the older Government buildings for its separate use. The money for the new churches, ordered by a stroke of Lord George Hamilton's pen, has to be paid by the unrepresented Indian taxpayers.

Lord G. Hamilton writes: "The Church of England, to which community the overwhelming mass of the British in India belongs, has been recognised by successive statutes, and in the great majority of cases the churches used by it have been consecrated." In this appeal to Statute Law, I

think he ignores the facts pointed out in my article to show that for two centuries that Church got on without any consecrations at all; he ignores also the unchallenged statements of the Rev. John Taylor, Senior Scottish Chaplain, that an Indian Bishop has no legal right to "exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever, either in the East Indies or elsewhere," without leave of the Queen, and that these same Letters Patent do not empower him to consecrate churches (p. 34).* Lord George Hamilton refuses point-blank the General Assembly's proposal "to effect legislation to alter the existing law, which hands over the control of churches built for all Protestants to the authorities of one denomination." He declined also to lay down a rule to prevent the consecration of garrison churches at present unconsecrated; but he ordered that this rite shall not be performed, except where there are other buildings for Presbyterian and Wesleyan worship. The general effect seems to me a good step towards *further establishment and fresh endowment* of the Church of England as THE Church of India, with the usual resort to statute, the Secretary of State for the time being, who may be a Wesleyan, or a Unitarian, or a Roman Catholic, asserting the right to order or forbid a spiritual act like this of consecration, and being morally sure that he will be obeyed, as the Indian Bishops

* I think Lord George Hamilton ought at the very least to have noticed the Rev. John Taylor's views, which coincide with those of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and are fully confirmed by Sir C. Ilbert's "Digest of Indian Law." Mr. Taylor wrote (p. 34): "The church at Solon has not been consecrated. I shall deem it a favour if you will let me know whether or not the permission of the Bishop's commissary was required to enable our congregation to hold service in it. With reference to this church at Solon, I beg most humbly to suggest that it would save a great amount of trouble and injustice to Church of Scotland congregations in the future if this building were not consecrated. In the Act of Parliament which created the bishopric of Calcutta, and is the charter of Indian bishoprics, I find the following, section 51: 'Provided always, and be it further enacted, that such Bishop shall not have or use any jurisdiction or exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever either in the East Indies or elsewhere, but only such jurisdiction and functions as shall or may from time to time be limited to him by His Majesty by Letters Patent.'"

may be recalled at his pleasure, and depend on him for pay and allowances, furloughs and pensions, and have no episcopal functions, except what this Cabinet Minister allows by Letters Patent.

This is the price the State Church of India has to pay for its legal and social exaltation over other Christian Churches, and for its subsidies out of the Indian Treasury; but I am sure many of its holiest members will be pained at the straightforward, naked terms used by the Secretary of State about putting "pressure" on its ministers to force them to open the consecrated buildings to Presbyterian services. Though the Episcopalians rely, not on the consecration, but on the voluntary trust-deeds as separating the church "from all profane or common uses," and though their liberal assent, until Lord G. Hamilton's time, shows that they do *not* now, and never did, hold Presbyterian worship to be either profane or common, I am sure that many devout persons, however Erastian, will regret and resent the claim of Cæsar to control a branch of the Church of Christ, especially those whose deepest feelings respond to the battle-cry, "For Christ's Crown and Headship." Lord George Hamilton's proposal is as follows: "That when any considerable number of Presbyterians are quartered at a station where the requirement for accommodation is fluctuating and uncertain, and only one place of worship exists, which is consecrated, the authorities of the Church of England shall be pressed to give reasonable facilities for its use by Presbyterians" (p. 46). In reply to Dr. Marshall's piercing questions, "Lord George Hamilton thinks that it must be evident from his letter that the *pressure* spoken of was pressure by the Government authorities, civil or military, exercised, where necessary, upon the authorities of the Church of England, and the reasonableness of the facilities to be granted would be a point for the consideration of the authorities exercising the pressure."

To me, after many years of official service, it seems undesirable that a powerful Government should interfere,

even with wrong-headed or unreasonable clergymen, in affairs of religion. This will be bitterly resented if, as in Sir Henry Fowler's case, the Secretary of State happens to be a Nonconformist. Moreover, as both the State and the two established national Churches concur, both in their writings and in acts extending over very many years, in plainly holding that it is seemly and right that consecrated churches should be used by Presbyterians, the Secretary of State might well have settled the whole matter once and for all by the simple legal means advocated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Instead of these trust-deeds giving the whole control to the Anglican Bishops, subject to this State *pressure*, he ought in future trust-deeds to reserve the rights of other Churches, and might well have passed an Act giving back such rights where they have been incautiously assigned away by the lawyers. All religious bodies gladly obey general laws, but all resent State compulsion in regard to occasional ceremonies and consecrated ministers. No reason has been given for departing from the custom of the army at home, as defined by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman in the Aldershot case, nor for abolishing the ancient custom of the Government of India. As I said before, "Churchmen in India are not Pharisees, neither are they inclined to be unjust to sister Churches; and even if some Ritualists among the Chaplains may have to be tenderly dealt with, the views of these few must not over-ride a long-established practice, well suited to the wants of the army, sanctioned by the Indian Episcopate, and pleasing withal to the Presbyterians." The results would be widespread, and thus far more serious than the bogey conjured up by the Archbishop of Canterbury (p. 8) to frighten Lord George Hamilton—to wit, the possible use of these churches "by Unitarians, for instance, holding doctrines quite outside the Christian faith." No Anglo-Indian believes in this danger, as no Unitarian is likely to become a Secretary of State; and since Lord George Hamilton has avowed his readi-

ness to exercise his ecclesiastical discipline by means of "pressure," he can easily exorcise the unorthodox beforehand by sending a timely despatch, in the spirit, if without the poetical vigour, of Wesley's well-known hymn :

> "The Unitarian fiend expel,
> And send his doctrine back to hell."

My comrades in India may object that the Secretary of State, having to consider the feelings of sixty millions of Mussulmans, all Unitarians, must use more cautious rhetoric than what is permitted to hymn-writers or Archbishops. I quite agree, for while we render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, we are loath to concede any jurisdiction over religious doctrines or dogmas. This Blue Book certainly leaves the impression that the time has come to loose those hampering bonds, official and pecuniary, which tie the Church in India to the India Office at Westminster. These Letters Patent, those Government Resolutions, and voluntary trust-deeds, full of *habendums* and *tenendums*, must not be reckoned among things Divine.

THE REVOLT OF THE "BOXERS" IN CHINA.

By E. H. Parker.

The following Imperial decree was issued in the name of the Emperor on April 13 last: "The establishment by the rural population in each province of militia for their own protection, and for the preservation of their lives and families, is at bottom simply the good old ancestral practice of keeping a look-out and lending mutual assistance; and so long as those concerned mind their own business, there is no reason why they should be interfered with. All that is to be feared is that amongst such persons the good and the bad may get mixed, and that pretexts may be taken to raise trouble with native Christians. It must be remembered that the Sovereign regards all with equal benevolence, without distinction of territorial division, for which reason the populations concerned should obey the spirit of this idea, and refrain from giving vent to their private resentments, in such wise as to cause hostility and render themselves liable to punishment. Let the Governors-General and Governors concerned give strict directions to local authorities to issue plain-speaking proclamations as occasion may require, calling upon all persons to attend to their own affairs, and always keep on peaceful terms with others, not ignoring the spirit of these earnest exhortations."

It is highly probable that the above document, cautiously worded as it is by the Empress-Dowager's advisers, has special tacit reference to the so-called "Boxers"; for although anti-Christian troubles are breaking out in the Canton, Ningpo, and other regions, nothing touching Europeans has occurred of so grave a nature as the murders of Mr. Brooks in Shan Tung, and later, it appears, of certain Belgian engineers. Moreover, the native newspapers, in which the above decree is published a few days later, note with alarm that the "Boxer" movement has

spread with great rapidity across the province of Chih Li right up to the neighbourhood of Newchwang, where many immature youths in their teens have been gained over by the propaganda. Hitherto, in treating of rebels and revolters, the native press has made little specific allusion to the *i-ho-k'üen*, or "Patriotic Peace Fists"; but the best of them—the *Shên Pao* of April 22—says it is now high time that the authorities "patch things up before the rain comes, and diminish the fuel before the fire rages." This is evidently the passage that inspired Professor R. K. Douglas with the *tout special* rendering published in the *Times* (end of May), which appears to be founded on some misapprehension of the Chinese text.

Touching the *raison d'être* of the fisticuff fraternity, it may be explained that, concurrently with the vigorous reforms recently introduced into the Chinese army (explained in detail in the *United Service Magazine* for April last), each province has, since the German attack upon Kiao Chou, been directed to furbish up its old *t'wan-lien*, or "posse of the districts." Shan Tung, as the province most immediately threatened with "rain and fire," has naturally not been behindhand, and the result is that yeomanry or militia, at first encouraged by the authorities (as explained) by Imperial command for the protection of the villages, have been worked upon by mischievous persons or secret societies—notably the Great Sword Society—in such a way as to develop into a serious danger to the State. Hence the delicate position of the Central Government, which has created what the Chinese call a "tiger-ride situation"—that is, the only way for the Government or rider to escape being eaten is to stick fast to the tiger's back and trust to luck for what the capricious beast will do. The use of the word *i* is ominous of evil to the Manchu dynasty, for this term has always been employed by "patriots," such as those who turned out the Turks in 620 and the Mongols in 1360. The original idea of the Central Government was to develop a defensive "patriotism" against the Germans and Christians,

notably the Catholics, who have now been idiotically provided by the imbecile Chinese Government with an official status, giving them illimitable power to intrigue and create mischief; but the reforming and revolutionary element surreptitiously regard the *i* as referring to Chinese rights against those of Manchus, and it is impossible for the old women of the Tsung-li Yamên to say how far blustering Generals like Tung Fu-siang may not take this objectionable view of the word *i*.

The situation in North China is now (June 5) undoubtedly serious, and it is by no means unlikely that the degenerate Manchu dynasty, which began so well, will have disappeared before the summer is out. Nor is that a matter for unqualified regret, for it is now hopelessly corrupt, cowardly, and inefficient; worst of all, it is vacillating, for a persistent villain is a better administrator than a weak old simpleton, willing to be humbugged. But at the same time the Chinese themselves are politically as treacherous as the Manchus, besides being infinitely more crafty; and therefore, whatever happens, it is highly desirable that European Powers (including America and Japan in this term) should stand together and prevent the "yellow corpse" from putrefying their own existence. Nothing could be more fatuous or fatal than for this or that Power to "believe in" China, and to bolster her up against the demands of the other Powers with a view to securing special privileges. Whatever our rivalries and jealousies, we Europeans, including even Russia, are all imbued with the one spirit of humanity, justice, and progress, summed up in the word "Christian;" and this is none the less so though half of us may be atheists, free-thinkers, and Jews; for it is the spirit of Christianity imbibed with our mothers' milk which forms our minds, even if we reject the puerilities of this or that dogma; nor is it any the less so because we happen to be hostile to, and even at war with, each other. In the Far East all Europeans are bound together by a species of sympathy of which people

at home have little idea; but even at home this feeling of Christian unity is easily realized when it is brought into contrast with the "yellow corpse." It is satisfactory to see that, so far, Europeans are working together, and it is to be hoped that, whilst keeping an intelligent eye upon their own separate interests, the Powers will not do anything so fatal to their future solidarity as to break up the concert in order to admit the discordant music of the gong. Every Chinese dynasty and every Tartar dynasty ruling China has disappeared in a pandemonium of anarchy and butchery. The Manchu dynasty is bound to go in the same way, and the only thing is to localize the evil and let the anarchists cook in their own juice until they are tired of cooking, taking care that as few European interests as possible are injured. Compared with Asiatic dynasties generally, the Manchu dynasty was at first excellent and intelligent: even now it is the least evil of any Chinese or Tartar dynasty at the time of its tottering to a fall. But why support a wretched political system which devotes half its revenues to the feeding of an idle pack of useless and crapulous "banner-men"; which never does anything whatever for the improvement of the people; which persists in a rotten and wasteful system of finance; encourages its officers to peculate and falsify accounts; sanctions torture of the cruellest kind; denies all justice to political offenders; destroys its women's feet—or permits the Chinese to do so; and renders scant justice to any man? The well-meaning legitimately-selected Emperor is practically a victim to the assassin already. For whose good is it to support such a dynasty? Being there, the dynasty is convenient to us in so far that it remains a tool which we can handle for our own purposes in a gingerly way without the necessity of hunting for a new tool which might possibly cut us. But it has no other use under the present usurper and her minions. It is out of the question to substitute a Chinese dynasty, for there is no family in China whose name carries respect and weight throughout the provinces.

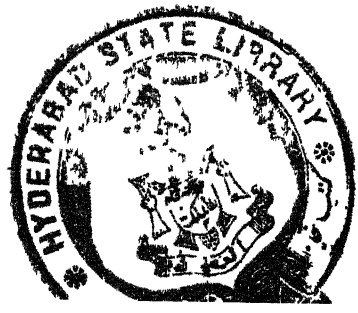
China seems fatally bound to be ruled by strangers, and it is in the interest of her hundreds of millions—hostile to us only through ignorance—that it should be so. But things must not be allowed to come with a rush. If the "Boxers" or any other society once gain headway, a fearful amount of useless bloodshed and wanton destruction will take place; so the first and most urgent thing is to restore order wherever threatened, and keep the military adventurers on the right side. It does not in the least matter who runs the machine during this restive stage so long as it is run on commission steadily and unflinchingly. Sir Robert Hart, with the co-operation of the "concert of Ministers," would do as well as anyone else—perhaps better, for he is the one solitary instance in China affairs of a man who knows what he wants to do, holds his tongue, and does it. Shareholders need not in any case be particularly anxious about their dividends, for, whatever takes place, China's sole "solid" asset is the £1,000,000 sterling derived from foreign trade, and none of that will be allowed to leave foreign control in the event of rebellion.

It is high time now that, after two thousand years of political serfdom, the intelligent and industrious Chinese people, who are excellent municipal and village organizers, should have recognised rights conferred upon them. Their political requirements, as crudely specified by K'ang Yu-wei, must go hand-in-hand with their material development. It is impossible to give them railways, cheap newspapers, telegraphs, steamers, and, in short, the latest results of progress generally, and yet expect them to stagnate peacefully in their old docility and oblivion. K'ang Yu-wei himself should be thrust aside as a dangerous agitator, meddling with matters he only half understands. Russia should be allowed a free hand in the organization of the Manchurian provinces, for the simple reason that no one else can possibly do it; but the "original" rights of others should be clearly stipulated for. In the same way Germany may reasonably put Shan Tung in order, without in any

way treading upon others' toes. We and Japan must keep the Shan-hai Kwan open. At the "proper moment" we ourselves should be prepared to hold the gates and the lanes of the Yang Tsze; this we ought to be able to do as easily now as we did during the Taiping rebellion. France in Hainan, Kwang Si, and parts of Yün Nan and Kwang Tung; Japan in Fuh Kien; Italy in Cheh Kiang; ourselves, again, in Yün Nan and Kwang Tung; the Indian Government in Tibet; the Russians in Ili—here we have work cut out for all; and, starting from these bases, there is no reason why we should not each steadily advance year by year into our respective Hinterlands, and gradually turn the corpse into healthy meat. It is not necessary to commit acts of digression or conquest.

Amongst modern missionary reforms none is more remarkable or worthy of admiration than the Anti-Footbinding or Tien-tsu Hwei, started by Mrs. Archibald Little. The fact that so pigheadedly conservative a people as the Chinese are actually rising to the height of this reform amply illustrates how easy our general work will be when the ignorant people discover that we are really labouring for their benefit. Missionaries of all kinds should have a free hand, but under consular control; and Lord Salisbury never came to a wiser decision than when he accepted Dr. Temple's recommendation to decline an official status for the Protestant half of them.

P.S.—It is now (June 11) a week since the above was written, and the events of the past seven days furnish readers with the means of judging the accuracy of the above forecasts.



THE POSSIBLE COLLAPSE OF MOROCCO AS AN INDEPENDENT POWER.

By Ion Perdicaris.

Queries regarding any immediate peril to Moorish independence are answered in a most reassuring sense at the Tangier Legations, despite the apparent evidence of danger both on the Algerian frontier, where Igli and other towns, long considered amongst the most indisputable appanages of Shereefian authority, have been approached by French troops, whilst in Morocco city itself, and generally throughout the vast but inchoate Sultanate of the Filali Shereefs, the shaken fabric of Moorish power seems to crack at every joint.

Mulai Abd-el-Aziz, the present occupant of the Shereefian throne, although he is now arrived at man's estate, is still but an inexperienced youth, who has never taken the field at the head of his fierce but undisciplined troops, nor has he ever yet treated directly any affair of State, all authority having been hitherto exercised by his Grand Vizir, Sid Ahmed ben Musa ben Ahmed, commonly known as Ba-Ahmed, or "Father Ahmed." This worthy is now—May 13—lying perilously ill, if he be not already dead, whilst two of his brothers, one the late Minister of War, and the other also a high official, have died within the month. Besides these officials, another trusted adviser of the late Sultan, the Kaid el Meshuar, or Master of Ceremonies, passed away a short time since at Morocco City; whilst here in Tangier the Special Envoy, the Feki el M'Niah, who had been sent to lodge a protest with the Representatives of the Powers concerning the alleged French aggressions, must needs suddenly put an end both to himself and to his mission by means of a charcoal brazier after his bath the other evening.

Of course, Prime Ministers and other important officials

fall ill, and even die, at inconvenient moments elsewhere than in Morocco, nor do such occurrences usually portend the approaching dissolution of the entire body politic; but this is such an especially unpropitious, not to say critical, moment in the history of Morocco, that such a singular series of mishaps to the Bokhari faction, (a faction which has ruthlessly usurped all the power of the State since the death of the late Sultan in June, 1894), might well excite the distrust of a less suspicious population than that of the Moorish Empire, composed as it is of so many heterogeneous and discordant elements—crafty Arabs of the plains, fierce Berbers of the hills, and descendants of the more civilized Moriscos, expelled from Spain in the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, or later on during that of Philip II., and, lastly, the blacks of the Soudan, from whom the Bokhari bodyguard is recruited.

What especially complicates the case just now is, the fact that the elder brother of the present Sultan, a figure of somewhat singular aspect, known as El Aouar ("the Blind," though Mulai Mohammed is neither totally nor even partially blind, but has merely a "cast" in one eye), is still alive, and not only alive, but a prisoner, and not merely a prisoner, which is not very consistent with brotherly devotion to the reigning monarch, but a member, on the mother's side, of the powerful Rehamna tribe, a Kabyle which rose in rebellion, when Abd-el-Aziz was proclaimed; whilst the harsh treatment which the tribe then experienced at the hands of the present Government has left its surviving members with a lively sense of hatred and disaffection towards the monarch, and more especially towards the leaders of that faction which placed the young Sultan on the throne, to the detriment and prejudice of his elder brother. It is also to be remembered, that several of the officials most devoted to the late Sultan, one of whom was a brother-in-law of Mulai El Hassan himself, were arrested immediately on the death of that able and popular Sultan, and, after being stripped of their property, were imprisoned

at Tetuan, where Si Maati El Djamai died miserably in confinement. To the popular imagination it would, therefore, appear either that Providence itself has directly intervened to avenge the fate of these victims of a long-successful conspiracy, or else, that some one of their more active partisans has found means to circumvent the elaborate precautions against assassination taken by the present occupants of the various posts of honour about the person of the young Sultan, concerning whose own capacity to free himself from the control of his almost universally unpopular advisers, and be in word and deed, as he is in name, the ruler of his suffering people, many unflattering rumours do circulate, according to which it would seem even doubtful whether His Majesty is likely to leave any legitimate heir to inherit the wide dominions over which his ancestors have so long ruled.

And now, when a serious aggression threatens the Sultanate with the fate of a similar absorption to that which has already overtaken so many Mohammedàn and Asiatic empires, reducing Sultans, Khedives, and Beys to subjection, or transferring the effective control of the populations beneath their sway, by more or less evasive or direct processes, by orders emanating from the rulers of the various European capitals, it happens that those whose strong hands and stern strength of will were most needed to protect the tottering edifice from the first undisguised assault have been, or are being, swept away, leaving the young Sultan to face almost alone the ever-increasing cares and perplexities of State.

At the present moment two foreign Embassies—those of Italy and Spain—are waiting at the gates of the Sultan's palace. Signor Malmusi, the Italian Minister, had indeed already concluded his mission, and was only waiting certain documents and orders with the signature of the Sultan (a euphemism for the application of the Shereefian seal) before taking his leave; but the Spanish Minister, who reached Morocco just as the Grand Vizir fell ill, is

reputed to have more important objects to discuss concerning Spain's demands for the assignment of certain long-debated territorial concessions, together with various delimitations of the neutral zone bordering her possessions at Melilla and other points on the Moorish coast. Both these Embassies are therefore delayed by the illness of the Vizir, a circumstance which is not likely to add to the amenities of the discussion when relations are finally reopened with the always vexatious and dilatory Moorish officials, who have of late proved especially recalcitrant.

But these are not the preoccupations which have most painfully engrossed the attention of the Sultan's Cabinet; it is rather the storm-cloud on the south-eastern frontier that chiefly disturbed the peace of the Grand Vizir. Not that the definite transfer of the various oases, embracing the territory about Insalah in the Tuat district, from the purely nominal control of the Sultan of Morocco to the definite control of the Franco-Algerian Government, constitutes in itself any loss of revenue or appreciable injury, but because the intervention of another Power, in these regions, hitherto so difficult of access to non-Mohammedans, is not only a serious blow to the prestige of the Sultan's Government throughout his dominions generally, but because the occupation of this Saharan district which threatens Tafilet has long been looked upon as the last refuge and asylum of Moorish independence, should the European ever make himself master of the Atlantic littoral, with its rich alluvial plains, or even subdue the fierce inhabitants of the north-western slopes of the Atlas range. In such a case, as a last resort, it was confidently believed that the southern slopes of the giant range would offer a secure refuge from invasion, or even the more insidious forms of aggression, such as the extension of protection to disaffected tribes or individuals.

Owing to this belief, and also because the Tafilet district is the ancient centre, where the Filali dynasty began its rule, and whence the more northern and western kingdoms

of Fez and Marakesh (Morocco) were subsequently overrun and conquered by their descendants, this locality has long been used as a safe treasury where surplus accumulations are stored, and where many members of the reigning house still reside. Yet, now, behold! this very sacrosanct asylum and refuge is directly menaced, not from north or west, but from Igli and from the very Sahara itself, for Tiddikelt is far south of Tafilet.

The Mekhazen, or Moorish Government, guided by Ba-Ahmed, has hitherto displayed in this emergency exemplary prudence and self-control. Special orders have been repeatedly despatched to the Kaids in command of the line from Figig to Igli, and throughout the disturbed frontier districts, not to countenance or allow any hostile or aggressive action of the Moorish frontier tribes. But will these officers still be able to keep the lawless inhabitants in hand when it is known that the stern old Vizir has passed away, or should the present Sultan be thrust aside by his more warlike elder brother? Will the latter, whose success must depend upon the soldiery, whom he formerly commanded during his late father's reign, have the power or the desire, should he be released from prison, to pursue the pacific policy hitherto followed by Ba-Ahmed? For it should be borne in mind that Mulai Mohammed, even when he enjoyed his father's confidence as heir-apparent, had never been in any sense associated with, nor had he ever taken part in, the political direction of the Sultanate. His activity was purely military. No European Representative discussed with him any question of foreign policy, even if the fierce young Prince ever personally met, in the course of some state function, the Ministers or secret agents of some foreign Power.

Will it not rather fall in both with his natural warlike bent, as well as the most advantageous policy with regard to his own people, to break with the old-established lines, and to trust not so much to the jealous dissensions of the Powers as to the strength of his own troops, and to his

ascendancy over them, which nothing could so absolutely establish as a triumphant victory over the Christian aggressor?

If, therefore, owing to Mulai Mohammed's ignorance regarding the relative strength of Morocco and the Powers, this policy be adopted, what will be the French attitude? Is it likely that France will withdraw her troops, or apologize for her intrusion upon domains which His Shereefian Majesty claims absolutely and beyond all discussion as his own?

The reader must here bear in mind that France is diplomatically admirably guarded against interference by any foreign Power, since she is not ostensibly attacking Morocco, but merely pursuing the openly avowed intention of incorporating Timbuctoo and Senegal, now one of her African possessions, with her Algerian dominions. If the realization of this project should prove injurious to Morocco, either commercially by diverting the Timbuctoo caravans, or threatening Morocco's flank from a military point of view, it is evidently the duty of the French Government to consider French colonial interests before taking into account either Moorish objections or European susceptibilities. The great advantage to France of the situation is that every advance towards Timbuctoo places the Republic in a better position for dealing with Morocco should a disputed succession or any prolonged period of anarchy ever render it desirable to exercise an effective control over the neighbouring populations.

Neither England, therefore, nor any other Power, save Morocco alone, has any pretext for intervention, and as to the Shereefian Government, those must be ill-informed indeed who do not realize that a single French or Algerian brigade could reach Fez in less than a month, and from this northern capital of the empire dictate terms to the Sultan.

France is consequently already in a position which will sooner or later render her the dominant Power, so far as

the interior of the Sultanate is concerned. Her influence may be disputed on the coast, but the future of the entire Atlantic hinterland is in her hands even now.

Still, were it possible to compel France to recall her troops, would it be advisable in the interest of Europe generally that France should withdraw? Whatever may be the attitude of the natives at Tangier or along the coast, where the commercial and official intercourse with Europeans has possibly tempered or disarmed the hatred of the more neighbouring tribes, it is quite certain that the populations of the more distant provinces regard us not only with dislike, but honestly think that non-Moslems must necessarily and logically lack every virtue, whilst they believe themselves to be everywhere, except on the sea or near the coast, man for man and collectively also, especially from a military point of view, absolutely our superiors. They have, therefore, long fretted under the check imposed by their own better-informed statesmen, who have observed with astonishment and chagrin how the Moslems, both in Turkey during the last Russo-Turkish conflict, and still more latterly how those other and even braver Mohammedan forces of the Mahdi have fared at Khartum and in Kordofan.

Even were France disposed to adopt a policy of effacement or retreat, such a course might prove disastrous to European interests and security, not here in Morocco alone, but in other regions where Moslems and Christians are in contact. But France is not likely to withdraw, even were Morocco supported by other Powers, for France is in the same position in Northern Africa as that occupied by England on the frontiers of India, or that of Egypt in the Soudan. To weaken at the extremities might threaten her grip even in the centre of her Algerian or North African possessions. No one knows better than those in command in Downing Street that, however keen may be the desire of any Home Government to avoid frontier engagements throughout its own colonial dominions or

military dependencies, nevertheless, either because the necessities of the moment prove stronger than instructions from the Home Government itself, or because the individual agents and commanders along the frontier are impelled by other, and possibly in the end wiser, instincts, it has never been possible for any colonizing Power, either in the past or in the present, to draw at will a line beyond which all advance is rigorously forbidden; or when that day in the history of a once-expansive Power does come, then is it perilously near its own decline and fall.

Yet it does not necessarily follow that, unless prevented by some combination of other Powers, or by some disaster at Paris itself, France will instantly mobilize her troops for the conquest of Morocco; such a contingency is, indeed, at the present moment beyond the range of practical consideration. What, then, is likely to be the outcome of the immediate situation?

In a former article it was shown how the after-consequences of the Hispano-American conflict and the struggle in South Africa might affect the position in Morocco. When that article was written (April, 1899),* circumstances were already justifying the predictions therein indicated: the Spanish Government was already preparing instructions for its Representative at Tangier regarding the final and definite assignments and delimitations of the vague concessions of territory at Rio d'Oro and Santa Cruz Pequeña, on the south-western coast of Morocco; whilst the French columns in Southern Algeria were already being prepared, under Colonels d'Eu, Menestrel, and Bertrand, for the advance from Insalah to Inrar, and for the demonstration towards Timmimoun and Igli, more directly threatening Tafilet. It may be remembered that the article in question suggested that, should England find herself more than momentarily occupied and embarrassed in the effort to re-establish order in South Africa, France might endeavour to obtain a free hand in Morocco in compensation

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, pp. 338-344.

for the Fashoda incident, and also as an off-set to the conquest by England of the South African Republics, and their incorporation as part and parcel of the British Empire.

Even before this question may have been definitely considered at the Quay d'Orsay, France, owing to some temporary confusion on the Moorish frontier, or to the disappearance of all established authority at Morocco City pending the reorganization of the Mekhazen after the death of the Grand Vizir, may find herself forced to take more active measures than she has as yet contemplated, especially should the new régime in Morocco when established decide upon a more warlike policy. In such an eventuality, what course will England adopt?

Were she free to act—that is, if she had an army corps available for immediate foreign service, and were she resolutely disposed to disregard the wishes of other Powers, trusting to her fleet to see her safely through with the adventure—her course should be to seize Tangier, for which a pretext may offer any day, whether England wishes it or not, as there is actually no force whatever in Tangier sufficient to maintain order should disturbances occur, since even the very Basha, or Military Governor, is absent from his post, Kaid Abd-ur-Rahman ben Saduk, a man of some resolution and of giant stature, having been summoned suddenly to Morocco City by Ba-Ahmed, whither the Governor proceeded somewhat unwillingly, as do mostly all Governors when summoned, having before their eyes various details of the squeezing process as applied by correct Moorish rule to Kaids and Governors suspected of any trifling accumulation of wealth. But however great might be the advantage to England of Tangier and its immediate territory, the possession of which would give her the absolute command of the Straits, greatly strengthening her position at Gibraltar, is England in a position to thus startle and offend every Government in Europe? Would she wish to do it, even were it physically easy to accomplish? We fancy there would be but one answer to this query at the present

moment, and therefore it is to be feared that the old time-honoured policy of drift may emerge at last as the result of the constitutional Downing Street temperament, accentuated by emergencies at other points of the compass, calling for all the acumen and energy of the much-occupied man at the helm.

This worthy, or the several gentlemen rolled into one who answer for the overwrought individual in question, will probably comfort himself, or themselves, by the reflection that neither Tuat nor even Igli is an actual *bonâ-fide* portion of the Moorish Sultanate—both are at least debatable points, and not essential to the maintenance of Moorish independence; and so France, after laying down her Trans-Saharan or Timbuctoo railway as far as Igli, will be left undisturbed to take the first really decisive step towards the conquest of Morocco later and at her own convenience, either by way of Fez, or, if this be too near to European observation, then viâ Tafilet, and thus appropriate that southern slope of the Atlas, the original seat and birthplace of the Filali dynasty. As the base of operations is, moreover, so near the great desert, the occupation of Tafilet itself may some day be an accomplished fact before the news of what has occurred can reach Europe, or even Morocco City, whose nearest avenue of information will be viâ Paris by means of the wire soon to be laid to Igli.

Thus, before English statesmen have decided what steps to take in order to prevent Tangier falling into French or Spanish hands, both of which Powers are equally ill-disposed towards Gibraltar, the opportunity to treat on the present favourable terms may have disappeared, whereas, could some arrangement be made with France before she has actually become the virtual controller of the fate of Moorish independence, from which position the Republic is not even now far removed, England might, with the approval of the other Powers, easily secure the neutralization of Tangier, together with the coast immediately opposite to Gibraltar itself, availing herself at the same time of the

opportunity to free herself from the troublesome embarrassments in Egypt, entailed by the "capitulations," together with some rectification of the many otherwise interminable judiciary hindrances and entanglements arising from England's irregular position in a country nominally under independent Mohammedan rule; nor is it only the authority of the Khedive, which may at some inopportune moment work mischief to British prestige and interests, both financial and political, but the overlordship of the Sultan of Turkey, a bungling arrangement due to England's own suggestion and initiation at a moment when she did not clearly foresee that Abdul Hamid or his successors would almost certainly become a source of anxiety under the control of nearer neighbours, at whose instigation an adverse Sultan might, at some critical moment for English rule in Egypt, were he adequately financed, and were his brave troops led by European officers, prove as awkward a factor near Port Said as poor Greece found him to be upon the Macedonian frontier, even before the Turkish troops had invaded the Thessalian plain and almost threatened Athens itself.

All these considerations might well be weighed at a moment when the English arms have been held at bay for months in South Africa, showing how futile it is for a world-Power like Great Britain, with her vast territorial possessions and her many restive military dependencies, to imagine that her fleet alone is a sufficient defence, or one that would enable her to thwart with impunity, in Morocco or elsewhere, neighbours whose legions are counted, not by hundreds of thousands, but by millions, and whose reasons for insisting upon an expansive policy are at the least as imperative as those which have led England to endeavour, at any cost, to establish her own absolute supremacy in South Africa.

To judge the Morocco question, therefore, it is absolutely essential that Englishmen should place themselves in the position of the French colonial statesmen, and also of the military commanders in Southern Algeria. Some account

should further be taken of the condition of intermittent anarchy along the Moorish-Algerian frontier; indeed, one of the elements of especial danger is the ignorance of the people, and the systematic misstatements of facts in Eastern and Oriental countries; for instance, the accepted version of the combats near Igli, and also in the more distant parts of the Tuat district, credited by the Moorish populace is that the French lost 150 cannon, and that many thousand French prisoners were taken by their Moslem adversaries. It will readily be seen how difficult such a belief will render the efforts of the authorities at Morocco City to prevent the tribes from hurrying to the scene of action, and how probable it is that the French column at Igli, which has been ordered to retire, may be attacked, rendering it almost impossible to fall back, since Colonel Bertrand may not judge it prudent to retreat, leaving, as he had been instructed, only a small force to hold Igli, in the face of a hostile gathering of constantly reinforced tribesmen.*

These are possible contingencies which English statesmen should not disregard, however much they may prefer to see the *statu quo* in Morocco sustained. The Moors, unassisted by other Powers, cannot repel French aggression, though they may easily provoke further and more immediate invasion on a far more important scale, and with more effective results.

The writer, therefore, despite his sympathy for the love of independence, which is likely to precipitate the Moor into a struggle for which he is not adequately equipped, and who also perfectly understands how desirable the continuance of the present *status in quo* is to England as well as to other Powers, would once again insist on the fact that Morocco is in a condition just now which renders a disaster almost certain; indeed, the reduction of Morocco to the position of a vassal to French overlordship is but a question of time, because the Moor will not accept counsel, nor

* Letters from Fez state that all residents in that city from Tafilet are hastening to the frontier to defend their native district.

will he, even when in peril, make any concession to modern requirements. He only sets his back the more firmly against the door, thus barring access to friend as well as adversary.

If this be the state of affairs, and if it be doubtful whether England can rescue Morocco, would it not be better to treat with France while there is yet time to avoid armed conflict over the possession or defence of Tangier, and not risk its loss without compensation, and without having obtained by amicable agreement with France the best possible terms, not merely regarding the neutralization of Tangier as a free port, but, taking advantage of France's desire to secure a free hand throughout the interior of the Sultanate, seize this opportunity to settle once and for all the various outstanding questions relating to Egypt, the Newfoundland Foreshore, and other differences, out of which serious complications may arise in the future, before it be written, *Delenda est Morocco?*

Such a startling conclusion to the Empire as we are discussing may not be immediate; years or decades of slow decay may yet intervene, for in the life of a nation decades count but as moments in that of an individual; still, judging by the history of the past, not merely where Mohammedan dynasties are concerned, but even where European nationalities alone are affected, do we not observe that although the catastrophe may appear to hang fire indefinitely, yet when once the body politic has become so corrupt that purification or regeneration from within has become impossible, even a slight aggression from some hostile neighbour or native faction is enough to cause the stricken fabric of government to fall with a suddenness that often surprises even the best-informed observers?

In view of such a catastrophe, writers in English journals and reviews, notably in the *Daily Mail* and the *St. James's Gazette*, have lately propounded various schemes for the neutralization of Morocco or for a joint European guarantee of its integrity, with a collective control over finance, justice, and military organization.

Apparently these writers, despite their knowledge of commercial interests or of geographical delimitations, do not realize the real position from the native point of view.

The Mohammedan, as we have said, conscientiously believes that the non-Moslem is incapable of right thinking or of disinterested advice. It is not conceivable to the Moslem that we should understand either commerce, justice, or military organization so well as the wildest and most illiterate of his fellow-Moslems; for has not the Deity revealed the law to His favourite Prophet, not moral law in the abstract only, but an entire system of codified jurisprudence, a system which covers the whole field of social and military organization? Therefore, despite our superior wealth, commercial activity, and especially our inventive capacity, which place at our command the resources of machinery and chemistry, the Mohammedan, with rare exceptions, especially in such a country as Morocco, where he is scarcely conscious of personal contact with the European, believes implicitly that he is right and we are wrong. Even where he sees with his eyes, he refuses to admit to himself the unpleasant evidence of his senses. Our superiority is at the best, he thinks, merely apparent, not real, or it is due to the Devil, to magic or witchcraft, in all of which demoniac influences he has the most absolute faith; in fact, he will believe in anything but the possibility that the non-believer (in Mohammed and the Koran) can be superior in judgment or goodness to the true believer. For the latter to admit a doubt on the subject would be for him, logically, to lose faith in the Mohammedan creed; he actually cannot admit the superiority of the Christian or non-believer and remain a devout Mohammedan. Therefore you may compel him by force to obey, but you cannot persuade him by arguments or reason; hence schemes for a feeble collective control are futile. It may be possible, as in Tunis and in Egypt, to maintain the form of Mohammedan government, whilst this same government is compelled to obey the direction of foreign advisers; but if such advisers are to benefit

either the country they serve, *i.e.*, their own home government, or the nation over whose public acts they preside, covertly or openly, these advisers must not be divided in their own counsels.

Indeed, I could conceive nothing worse for Morocco than such a divided and necessarily incapable control exercised through, or by means of, the present autocratic and corrupt form of purely personal government, one which never considers the well-being of the subject or the locality, but merely the barbarous pride or ghoul-like greed of the men in office. Even as it is, Europe, by its official recognition, too often makes itself largely responsible for the horrors and evils of Moorish administration.

This is a question also which has a moral as well as a merely commercial aspect. Englishmen may very properly wish to maintain "the open door" throughout the East generally, and it is deplorable that other nations will not adopt the same generous and wise policy; therefore where England can grasp the helm of any derelict nation or territory, by all means let her do so, for all the world benefits by her noble and intelligent administration; but if, as in this case, circumstances prevent, then let her renounce the attempt to maintain manifestly incapable and corrupt governments, and let her allow her neighbours to work out, untrammelled by useless opposition, their own destiny, as she is working out hers; for is it not written, "Unto him who hath shall be given, and from him who hath not, that which he hath shall be taken"?—a precept which applies quite as much to nations as to men.

However obscure and confused may seem the lesson, there is at least this consolation. If the victory is with the big battalions, is it not because superior national strength is due to superior cohesion? And upon what does cohesion depend, except upon honesty? Ay, the simple honesty of the unit, of the individual. It is because the soldier can trust his fellow-citizen, and this confidence in each other is rarely, if ever, displayed after the battle by

Orientals. Therefore the Asiatic or Mohammedan, brave and heroic though he prove on the field, yields his place, surely if slowly, to the European, who, whilst he may not realize the ideal of brotherhood, is yet dimly, often unconsciously, governed by the higher conceptions of life proclaimed by the noblest of His race and time.

The disappearance of the Moor as a ruling element, with his flowing garments and manly bearing, may be matter for the unfeigned regret of the traveller and the artist, though the humanitarian, shocked by the cruel indifference of the native to the suffering of man or beast, will welcome the overthrow of a rule beneath whose heartless rigour incalculable numbers have perished in untold misery; whilst the economist should also rejoice that new spheres of wide extent are opened up to the productive energy and organizing faculty of the European, even if that European be not one of his own nationality.

Thus far (May 27) events at Morocco City would seem to largely justify the optimistic official view, since the death of the Grand Vizir on the 12th of this month (May) has strengthened rather than weakened the authority of the young Sultan, who is reported to have emancipated himself from the control of the unpopular advisers who have hitherto stood between him and his subjects; yet, strangely enough, as successors to the group of Vizirs and counsellors who have so suddenly been swept aside by death, the Sultan has selected relatives or friends of the late Grand Vizir himself. Thus, the newly appointed Grand Vizir, Sid Hadj Mukhtar ben Abdallah, is a first cousin of the late Ahmed ben Mousa; Sid Abd-el-Karim ben Suliman was ben Mousa's secretary, or, as we should designate him, Under Secretary of State, which post he still holds; while the new Minister of War, Kaid Mehdi el Menebbehi, was ben Mousa's confidential adviser.

The new administration, therefore, should not lack political continuity, yet in various ways the Sultan seems to be boldly taking a new and more benevolent departure,

since it is stated that he has granted three years' remission of taxation to the Dukala and to several other tribes who have suffered most severely from the rapacious and cruel extortion of the late Grand Vizir and his remorseless subordinates, of whose atrocities the most terrible, and let us hope exaggerated, accounts are narrated, of men and women buried in *matmorras* (underground caches or pits where grain is stored), in order to compel them to discover their supposed treasure; and when this alone was not sufficient, it is related that vipers and scorpions were thrown amongst the unhappy wretches to increase the horrors of their confinement.

The Sultan, now no longer a virtual prisoner, rides forth frequently, being everywhere greeted with acclamations, and has resumed the ancient custom of holding courts of justice at his palace gates.

Nevertheless, the storm-cloud on the south-eastern frontier still remains; indeed, it grows apace, for, with less fear of the repressive control exercised by the late Vizir, and animated by higher hopes and more warlike aspirations, there is greater danger even than formerly that the frontier tribes may attack the French columns, as is already reported to have been the case, whilst every courier tells of the increasing fervour both of the Berrabber, or mountaineers, as well as amongst the populations of the oases themselves, provoked by the presence of the foreigner and the infidel, and again we hear the ominous statement that from mosque to mosque the *jehad*, or holy war, is proclaimed.

The latest news (June 16) from the French side of the Morocco-Algerian frontier, viâ Paris, June 10, is that an attack on the camp at Dureyrier was daily expected, and that the Foreign Legion and the Chasseurs d'Afrique would be delighted were the attack to take place; but that many of the Spahis and Turcos in the French service are of Moorish origin, and could not be trusted to fire on Bou Amema, a most determined frontier chieftain, who has

headed many a former rising against the French—news which, reading between the lines, means an urgent call for immediate French reinforcements.

The same mail, however, brings a statement from the French Legation at Tangier to the effect that there is no friction there nor on the frontier, or that all is for the best in the best of Moorish Empires—an admirable illustration of the extent of the divergence of views between the Algerian military authorities and the French Foreign Office, represented at Tangier by the new Minister, Mons. Revoil, who is of a most conciliatory disposition.

Evidently the Ministry at Paris is most anxious to avoid even the slightest disturbance, but the Colonial and Algerian military authorities are equally bent upon establishing at any cost their occupation of the disturbed district, where more opposition has been encountered than had been anticipated.

A flash-light has thus been inadvertently thrown on the true situation along the Algerian frontier, whilst from the opposite extremity of the Moorish Sultanate comes the news of serious trouble at Tarndant, where Kaid Hamou ben Jilal has been killed, with two of his sons, by the Horvara, which confirms statements made to me by well-informed natives at Tangier, who said that the hated Kaids or governors, so long the terror of the tribes, would be killed or driven from their posts on the death of the Grand Vizir, who had supported these Kaids in their cruel extortions. Thus the ball opens! nor shall we really know whether the young Sultan can maintain his control over his long ill-used people until after the crops have been garnered, when the tribes will have more time to think of paying off old scores.

It is therefore still to be feared that the country may revert to a condition of chronic anarchy unless the stern methods of the past be maintained. Under any circumstances ample warning has been given to intelligent observers, and it behoves the foreign Powers, and especially

H.M.'s Ministers, to be prepared with some definite plan of action, and it would be well also were public opinion in England sufficiently informed to support Government in its decisions.

So far as the Tangier Legation is concerned, it would be difficult to have a better representative at that port than Sir Arthur Nicolson. Clear-headed, alert, and yet conciliatory, he is liked both by natives and foreigners, and if he have a fault, it is only the universal English defect of being sometimes a shade too optimistic.

A PLEA FOR THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By G. P. Pillai
(Editor of the *Madras Standard*).

The Transvaal War is almost come to a close. Very shortly those who are entrusted with the responsibility of administering the affairs of this great country will be called upon to decide what form of Government the two Republics should possess. Amidst the national rejoicings that must inevitably follow the triumphant end of a bloody and disastrous war, I trust the claims and rights of the natives of India will not be forgotten. All the world knows how at the most trying period of the war, when the prestige of Great Britain seemed to be hanging in the balance, India as a whole stood loyally and manfully by her. Hundreds and thousands of men were ready to take the field against the Boers, if only the word came forth, but the word never came. For certain political reasons—whether justifiable or not, I shall not inquire—Indian soldiers were kept away from the field of battle. Nevertheless, Indians have only been found too ready and willing to render all possible aid in other directions. Princes and people came forward with magnificent offers of help. While Princes gave away thousands, and some even lakhs of rupees, in aid of the war fund, the poor ill-paid sepoy to whom the privilege of the battlefield was denied found solace in the voluntary contribution of a month's pay towards the war. And the Indian clerks and traders and coolies in South Africa, quite innocent of the practice of handling a rifle, served, albeit heroically, in the humble capacity of stretcher-bearers. Amongst the din and turmoil of the war, all race animosities, all distinctions of colour, were forgotten, and the swarthy Indian and the hard-visaged colonial worked nobly together to uphold the supremacy of the British Empire in South Africa. Will all this be forgotten when the war is over? I trust not

In the series of indictments that the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain brought against the Transvaal Government in justification of the war, he accorded a prominent place to the ill-treatment of Indians in that Republic; and Lord Lansdowne, the Secretary for War, declared in emphatic language that, of all the misdeeds of the South African Republic, none filled him with greater indignation than its treatment of the Indians. I fully trust that these responsible statesmen, as well as their honourable colleagues in the Cabinet, will bear in mind the condition of Indians when they meet to discuss and settle the constitution of the British possessions in South Africa. It is a well-known fact that if, under the Transvaal Government and the Orange Free State, the Indian settlers were unfairly treated, their condition in the British colonies of South Africa was by no means happy. In the Transvaal they were prevented from travelling in first or second class railway-carriages, compelled to obtain passes whenever they travelled, prohibited from leaving their homes after 9 p.m., restrained in their rights of trading, and confined to "locations," or places outside large cities, where, and where alone, they could reside. In the Orange Free State they were forbidden from holding any landed property, or carrying on any mercantile or farming business, and subjected to an annual poll-tax of £10. No civilized Government would be justified in the enactment of such laws against any class of people, and Her Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa consider the impending loss of their freedom by the Boers a proper and just retribution for the wrongs they have perpetrated on them. But their satisfaction would have indeed been great if the recognition of their rights and privileges in the British colonies had formed a striking contrast to the treatment accorded to them in the two Republics. Unfortunately, the Indians were equally despised in Natal and Cape Colony. In Natal they were not permitted to travel without a pass, and some of the High Schools were closed against them;

and in 1897 four Acts were passed in quick succession, which restricted their rights and curtailed their privileges as British subjects. The first of these was ostensibly a Quarantine Act, but it was in reality a law to prevent the immigration of Indians. Sir Lepel Griffin speaks of it as a "quarantine law of exceptional severity, obviously directed, not against contagious diseases, but against immigration." The second Act restricted the rights of Indians to trade in the colony. It declined licenses in all cases in which the applicant was not able to sign his name in the English language. The third Act is known as the Immigration Restriction Act. It was condemned by Sir Henry Binns as being "not straight" and "un-British." The fourth Act makes the laws as to passes more stringent. In Cape Colony the Government have passed an Act authorizing the East London Municipality to frame by-laws prohibiting Indians from walking on foot-paths, and compelling them to live in specified locations. The laws of Zululand are also prejudicial to Indians. The regulations with reference to townships in this colony provide that only persons of European birth and descent shall be approved as occupiers of sites in these townships. In the township of Melmoth, Indians bought land to the value of about £2,000, but they were prevented from occupying it. The gold-mining laws of this colony make it criminal for an Indian to buy and possess native gold.

At one of the meetings of the Indian National Congress in India, a speaker summarized the condition of Indians in South Africa in these words: "How strange and singular is our position! In India we are permitted to become members of the Imperial Legislative Council. In England even the doors of that august assembly, the House of Commons, are open to us. But in South Africa we are not permitted to travel without a pass, we are not allowed to walk about in the night, we are consigned to locations, we are denied admission to first and second class carriages on railways, we are driven out of tram-cars, we

refused the benefits of the public baths, we are spat at, we are hissed at, we are cursed, we are hated, and we are subjected to a variety of other indignities which no human being can patiently endure."

The rigour of the laws against Indians in the British colonies was so great that it was responsible for no small extent of suffering amongst them soon after the outbreak of the war. As soon as war was waged, a large body of Indians in the Transvaal fled to—and where else could they flee to?—Natal, where they expected protection as British subjects. But when they reached the borders of Natal, they found their situation was extremely perilous. The Natal Government would not permit them to enter the colony, as they were not domiciled there, and they were offered the alternative of a temporary stay on the purchase of a license at £10 per head. Of course, there was no going back. There was Scylla on the one side, and Charybdis on the other. One of the organs of the Transvaal Government taunted the British Government with the remark that, while the latter did not hesitate to wage war with the Transvaal on behalf of the Outlanders, they refrained from interfering with their own colony on behalf of the Indian subjects of the Queen. At last the Natal Government relented, and the Indians were afforded a safe refuge in Natal, though only temporarily. Some Indians who were late in leaving the Transvaal found still other difficulties in getting to Natal. The railways were blocked, and they had to find their way through Delagoa Bay by steamer. But the steamer authorities would not have them, as, according to the regulations in force in Natal, steamers were prohibited from carrying Indians. Finally, the Natal Government ordered a temporary suspension of all regulations, and the Indians were safe.

Eight months have elapsed since then. The behaviour of the Indian stretcher-bearers has evoked the admiration of Britishers as well as colonials. It was but the other day that Sir George White spoke in the highest terms of their coolness and courage. The people of Natal have

been saved by troops at least 10,000 of whom have been maintained and kept in readiness by the Indian taxpayer. The very newspapers in Natal, which used to write harshly about Indians, have assumed a different attitude. Let us hope that nothing will disturb their present amicable relations after the war, that the laws temporarily suspended as against the Indians will be suspended for ever, that the colonials will treat the Indians with greater consideration, and that Her Majesty's Government will requite the services of the Indian people by a due recognition of their rights in South Africa. Such recognition of their rights is more imperative in the British colonies than in the States that may be newly acquired, for the largest population of Indians—51,000—is found in Natal, and next to it is Cape Colony, where 10,000 Indians have settled down, whereas in the Transvaal there were only 5,000 Indians before the war, and a smaller number in the Orange Free State.

It is not to the honour or credit of the British Government to be told that the only place in South Africa where Indians have no grievances apart from the general population is the Portuguese possession of Delagoa Bay. The Colonial Secretary, when he was approached by an Indian deputation on the South African question a few years ago, said: "We all desire that all British subjects should be treated alike, and should have equal rights and privileges." Her Majesty's First Minister, Lord Salisbury, at the Guildhall Banquet last year, said that what he desired was "equality for all races" in the Transvaal. Above all, in her memorable Indian proclamation of 1858, Her Majesty the Queen had said: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." It is the bounden duty of Her Majesty's Ministers to see that these noble and generous words of Her Majesty with reference to her beloved Indian subjects are not rendered meaningless in South Africa.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND HER DEPENDENCIES.

By Sir Charles Roe, kt.,
Late Chief Justice of the Chief Court of the Punjab.

According to the last official statistics published by the Colonial Office, the Colonial Empire of Great Britain—excluding Great Britain itself and India—extended over some 9¾ millions of square miles, with an estimated population of between 23 and 24 millions, the distribution of which is thus summarized:

Countries.	Area (Square Miles).	Population.
Europe - - - -	3,700	427,000
Asia - - - -	124,000	5,279,000
Africa - - -	2,515,000	5,304,000
America - - -	3,958,000	5,733,000
West Indies - - -	12,000	1,514,000
Australasia - - -	3,175,000	4,926,000
Total - -	9,797,700	23,283,000

If we add to these figures:

The United Kingdom -	121,180	40,000,000
India - - - -	1,560,110	289,000,000

the total area and population under the Crown of England will be nearly 11½ million square miles, with some 350 millions of inhabitants.

It would be impossible to say without a very elaborate examination of statistics what proportion of the above area and population can really be regarded as British. But, speaking roughly, we may say that Canada, Australasia, and a great part of the Cape of Good Hope are true British colonies in the sense that the bulk of the population is of British descent, with English law for their personal law, and that they may be expected to expand into great English-speaking nations. Of course a considerable number of persons of pure British descent are to be found in the other parts of the Empire, but for purposes of enumeration

they may be set off against the non-British in the British colonies proper. The latter would on this calculation contain an area of some 7 or 7½ million square miles, and a population of about 12 millions.

I will not attempt to give any detailed account of how this great Empire has been built up. Part of it was acquired by conquest, or as the result of wars; but it is to the peaceful industry and enterprise and natural aptitude for colonization of her sons that England owes the greater part of her Colonial Empire. The foundation of this Empire was laid by the acquisition of Newfoundland in 1583, and the last act of expansion was the arrangement with other European Powers of 1890, by which England acquired, or was acknowledged to have the right to acquire, some 2½ millions out of the 11 millions of square miles which is the estimated area of the whole of Africa.

The formal constitutional relations between England and her colonies and dependencies is the same for all in the sense that all form part of the dominions of the Crown, and are in theory governed by the Crown through the Colonial Secretary, the history of whose office is briefly this:

In July, 1660, the management of the affairs of the colonies was entrusted to a Committee of the Privy Council, which in the following December became the Council of Foreign Plantations. This in 1672 was united to the Council of Trade, and the joint body was styled the Council of Trade and Plantations. It was suppressed in 1677, but revived in 1695, and continued to exist down to 1782. In 1768, when the unfortunate quarrel between England and her American colonies had commenced, a Secretary of State for the Colonies was for the first time appointed. But both he and the Council were abolished in 1782, when the quarrel ended in the complete loss of America, and the affairs of the colonies that remained to us were again made over to a Committee of the Privy Council. This committee was formally constituted in 1786, and subsequently developed into what is now known

as the Board of Trade, but after the outbreak of the French War in 1793, the committee ceased to have anything to do with colonial affairs. These were first made over to the Home and then to the War Office, and in 1801 a new office of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was created. This arrangement continued till 1854, when the outbreak of the Crimean War as well as the rapid growth of the Australian colonies necessitated a separation of the two offices. Since then the Secretary of State for the Colonies has had sole charge of their affairs.

But although the colonies and dependencies are alike in so far as they are in theory governed by the Crown through the Colonial Secretary, their real government presents every variety of constitutional relations, from complete dependence to practical independence. Apart from mere posts occupied for naval or military purposes, such as Gibraltar, Aden, Perim, and Wai-o-Wai, which are under the Admiralty or War Office, or the government of India, and "Protectorates" or "Spheres of Influence," such as Uganda, Zanzibar, the Niger Coast, and the North Borneo Company, which are under the Foreign Office, there are under the Colonial Office forty distinct and, as regards each other, independent Governments or Administrations. Of these forty, eleven are what is called "self-governing colonies"—*i.e.*, practically independent Governments with parliaments of their own. The remaining twenty-nine may be grouped as follows:

I. Without any Legislative Council—that is, where the power of legislation is vested in the officer administering the Government, 4.

These may be subdivided into—

(*a*) Where the Crown has reserved to itself the power of legislating by Order in Council —Malta, Labuan, St. Helena, 3.

(*b*) Where it has not reserved this power— Basutoland, 1.

II. With Legislative Councils nominated by the Crown, 16.

(*a*) In which the Crown has reserved the power of legislating by Order in Council, 15.

(*b*) Where it has not reserved this power, 1.

III. With Legislative Councils, partly nominated by the Crown and partly elected, 9.

(*a*) In which the Crown has reserved the power of legislating by Order in Council, 6

(*b*) In which it has not reserved this power, 3.

In the case of all these twenty-nine colonies, or dependencies, the control of the Crown is a real control. Where there is no Legislative Council, the officer administering the Government acts entirely under instructions received from home. In the others the case is the same in all executive matters, and even where the Legislative Council contains the largest elected proportion of members, its powers of legislation are by no means complete—that is to say, the Colonial Secretary, even when he does not require Bills to be submitted to him for approval before they are introduced into Council, would not hesitate to advise the Crown to veto any Bill passed by the Council which he considered objectionable.

But in the eleven self-governing colonies the case is very different. They, too, as I have said, are in theory, and by their written constitutions, so far as they have any, governed by the Crown through the Colonial Secretary. The administration is carried on in the name of a Governor appointed by the Crown through ministers whom he may choose and dismiss at pleasure, and he may veto the most deliberate Acts of the Legislature. But what we now understand in England by the term "Constitution" is not the letter of documents (of which there are hardly any) creating or defining the powers of any part of the body politic, but the general spirit in which custom, which has from time to time changed, and will continue to change,

expects each different part to exercise its powers. Lord Macaulay, in the opening chapter of his "History of England," says with reference to the Constitution:

"The change, great as it is, which her (England's) polity has undergone during the last six centuries has been the effect of gradual development, not of demolition and reconstruction. The present Constitution of our country is to the Constitution under which she flourished 500 years ago what the tree is to the sapling, what the man is to the boy. The alteration has been great, yet there never was a moment at which the chief part of what existed was not old. A polity thus formed must abound in anomalies, but for the evils arising from mere anomalies we have ample compensation. Other societies possess written Constitutions more symmetrical. But no other society has yet succeeded in uniting revolution with prescription, progress with stability, the energy of youth with the majesty of immemorial antiquity."

Thus it is that whilst the Constitution of England at the present day is practically a democracy, in the sense that the will of the people, as expressed through a House of Commons elected on a very broad suffrage, is really the supreme power in the State, the Sovereign retains not only the titles, but also, in theory, the powers of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs, and the House of Lords has at least the same power as the House of Commons. Yet if either the Crown or the House of Lords were to attempt to exercise their powers in opposition to the House of Commons, their conduct would be denounced as "unconstitutional," not because it would be a breach of letter of the Constitution, but because it has become a recognised principle that the Crown can only act on the advice of responsible ministers, and that the House of Lords, though it may and should reject hastily considered measures, or measures as to the expediency of which the opinion of the nation is divided, is not justified in opposing a deliberate and definite expression of the national will.

A similar spirit pervades the Constitution of the self-governing colonies, with reference both to their internal government and their relation to the Mother Country. I will not attempt to trace the history of these colonies, or of any of them, in detail, or to explain the technicalities of their existing Constitutions. Speaking broadly, it is as true of them as of the English Constitution, that the present state of things is the result of natural development. In its early days the head of a colony must have full powers, and these must be derived from the Crown—that is, the responsible Government of the Mother Country—and be exercised under the control of the Crown. When the colony begins to gain strength, its leading men may be selected to assist the Governor with their advice and share his powers, and the control of the Crown will be relaxed. As the strength of the colony increases, the nominated Council may give place to an elected one, and the control of the Crown be reduced to a minimum. This is the stage which has been reached by the self-governing colonies, and, as I have said, it has been reached gradually, not by blindly adopting a particular form of government on account of its theoretical beauty, but by from time to time applying the form most suitable to the circumstances of each particular case. There is a great danger in political (of course I do not use the word in its party sense) as well as in other matters, not excluding even the law, of following theories instead of attending to the facts. This danger is particularly great when a country whose government is based on a democratic or popular foundation is dealing with the affairs of a colony or dependency. Because certain arrangements, such as the practical vesting of supreme power in a popular assembly, trial by jury, liberty of the press, work well, or are a necessity, in the Mother Country, it is assumed that they are great and eternal truths which will work equally well in all communities, and that they must be applied regardless of consequences, even though popular elections may result in a war of races or chaos,

trial by jury in gross miscarriage of justice, and liberty of the press in anarchy. The true democratic or popular principle is, I believe, this, that all Governments exist, or should exist, for the good of the governed, and that the best form of government for every community is the one which is, under the particular condition of each case, most calculated to promote this good. The relations between a Mother Country and her colonies and dependencies resemble very closely those between a parent and child. If it is incumbent on the parent to protect and control a child in its infancy, it is equally incumbent on him to recognise the fact that the child grows into the man, and that as he does so advice must take the place of command, and at last even advice must not be obtruded unasked. I do not wish to refer to any of the details of what I have already spoken of as the unfortunate quarrel between England and her American colonies, but I think that it may be said with truth that the chief cause of it was England's failure to recognise the fact that her child had grown up. She has learnt a lesson from the past, and whatever may be the formal constitutional relations between England and her grown-up colonies the real tie between them is that of family affection. The value of such a tie is as great in public as in private life, and it was never more strongly shown than at the present moment, when from all parts of the Empire England's children are rallying to her side, ready to spend their money and their lives in her defence, each colony vying with the others as to which can do most for the common mother, and best serve their much loved Queen.

To the very brief sketch which I have attempted to give of the constitutional relations between England and her colonies I must add a few words regarding these relations between her and India. India is not and never can be a colony—that is, a country occupied to any appreciable extent by settlers of British descent. Its organization, social and political, is entirely its own, though its govern-

ment is completely controlled by England. It is the greatest of England's dependencies, and a most perfect illustration of the true meaning of that term. Although India is often described as having been conquered or acquired by the sword, the description is very inaccurate. The real source of the acquisition was, as in the case of the colonies, the peaceful industry and enterprise of England's own children. The foundation of the Empire was a curious one. It was due to a rise in the price of pepper. The Dutch, who had a monopoly of the Eastern trade, raised the price of all spices to such an extent that in 1600 a few merchants of the City of London determined to send out one or two ships of their own. Their enterprise was successful; it was repeated, and developed into a regular trade. The merchants became a Chartered Company, with a monopoly and established depots or factories. Bombay came to England as part of the dowry of the Queen of Charles II. Madras was founded in 1664 and Calcutta in 1698. The factories grew into possessions, and their guards into a powerful army. Clive made these possessions a power, and Warren Hastings made this power an empire, of which he was made Governor-General in 1774. It was Pitt's Regulating Act of that year which first established any real constitutional relations between England and India. This was done by constituting in England a Committee of the East India Company's directors, presided over by a Cabinet Minister, called the "President of the Board of Control," for the management of the "political" affairs of the Company, by associating with the Governor-General members of the Council appointed from home, and by establishing at each Presidency town—that is, at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—a Supreme Court, whose judges were English barristers. This arrangement lasted till 1860, when the East India Company ceased to exist, and the Crown assumed the direct government of India.

But the organization of the new government was framed,

in the main, on the lines of the old one. In England a Secretary of State took the place of the old "President of the Board of Control," and his Council, varying in number from ten to fifteen, and composed of persons, official and non-official, of the greatest Indian experience, took the place of the old Company's Committee. The Secretary of State cannot impose any burden on the finances of India without the consent of his Council, and he is supposed to consult it and be guided by its advice in all other matters. But he may, and he not infrequently does, act independently of his Council, or disregard its advice, not, I fear, always to the benefit of India.

In India the Governor-General became also Viceroy, but his powers and those of his Executive Council, which consists of a legal member and a financial member, usually sent out from England, and a military member, and two civilians selected from the civil and military services in India, remained much as before. Each member of Council has special charge of some department of the Government, and, like a Cabinet Minister in other countries, disposes of all minor matters connected with it. All matters of importance are dealt with by the whole Council, but the Viceroy is not bound by a vote of the majority, nor would a member who was outvoted think it necessary to resign. He would merely record a minute setting forth his reasons for dissenting from the policy adopted. No doubt the original intention of the framers of this Constitution was that the opinion of the members of Council should be given perfectly independently by them as Indian experts, that the Viceroy should also form an independent judgment after giving due weight to this opinion, and that the Secretary of State in England should only overrule the Viceroy for very special reasons. I would not imply that the members of the Council have ceased to give independent opinions (and they have most carefully kept themselves free from English political parties), but the course of events in India and its vicinity, which has made many Indian ques-

tions English or European questions, and more especially the telegraphic connection between India and England, has tended to reduce the Government of India to a more subordinate position, and to make its highest officers not men left to act independently with a possibility of having their action set aside, but mere officials appointed to carry out orders or a policy resolved on at home.

A very erroneous idea prevails about the Government of India and its officers in matters of internal administration. It is very generally supposed that the Executive Government and its officials, down even to its district officers, can issue what orders they please, and that these orders have the force of law. Nothing can be further from the truth. No doubt this was the state of things under the native Governments which preceded the British, and it continues, with certain reservations in the native States at the present day. But in British India the powers of the Government and its officers were created solely by the written law, and are strictly limited by it. There is no royal prerogative by common law, and no inherent power in any class or any individual to rule over others. The whole population is on a footing of the most perfect legal equality, and if anyone issues an order to another he must show that the power to do so was conferred on him by a certain section of a certain Act, either of Parliament or the Indian Legislature, and punishment for disobedience of the order could only be inflicted by a regular court of law after a proper trial. If the Viceroy himself were to be personally assaulted by a common coolie, the latter would not, as in most Eastern countries, be led off to instant execution ; he would have to be prosecuted before a magistrate, and could only, on conviction, receive the sentence prescribed by law.

No doubt in its inception the British Government did succeed to the powers of the Government it displaced, and its executive orders were regarded as laws. But as soon as Pitt's Act of 1774 gave a definite shape to the constitution of India, the distinction was drawn between mere

executive orders and regulations by the Governor-General in Council, which were drawn up in the form of statutes, and were intended to be observed as laws. In 1833 a Legislative Council, consisting of the Viceroy and his Executive Council, with the addition of other members, official and non-official, nominated by him, was created, and the power of legislation was transferred to it alone. Lord Macaulay went out to India as its first legal member of Council, and the Indian Penal Code, which, though it was not formally passed till 1860, was drafted by him, would, even if he had written nothing else, remain for ever a monument of his genius. The Council was enlarged in 1861, and it has been further enlarged of late years, chiefly by the addition of non-official members, a few of whom are elected, or rather nominated, to the Viceroy for approval, by bodies such as the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, and members have been given a right of interpellation. Some of these changes can hardly be regarded as improvements, and they were probably adopted merely in order to avoid still more mischievous ones. In its proper sphere—that is, as a machine for passing laws—the Council has done admirable work. In addition to the Penal Code to which I have referred, it has given us most complete codes of civil and criminal procedure, and a Contract Act and an Evidence Act, which embody the cream of English and American law. The ordinary process of legislation in India is this: Bills are introduced into Council, not to satisfy some political cry or fad, but to meet some real want which has been pressed on the notice of Government. On their introduction they are not only published in the *Government Gazette* and leading newspapers, English and vernacular, but they are also specially sent for opinion to those persons, official and non-official Europeans and natives, who are likely to have any opinion worth giving. The opinions received are carefully considered by a select committee of the Council, who then report the Bill to the Council, generally with their recommendations. It is then debated

in the usual way, and passed into law or rejected, as the case may be. To attempt to turn this body into a Parliament, or anything resembling a Parliament, will considerably impair its efficiency as a machine for legislation. As to any general establishment of Parliamentary institutions in India, I can only repeat what I have already said as to the danger of applying theories without regard to facts. The natives of India who form themselves into congresses and pass resolutions in no sense represent the people of India, or express their true wants. They mainly represent a somewhat numerous body of persons who have received an English education at Government expense, and who, on failing to obtain Government employment, think that they will at least obtain notoriety by going into opposition. Their mode of thought and speech, and even of their sedition, when they are seditious, is not that of India but of an imitation Europe.

Between the Legislative Council and England the constitutional relation is that the Council has full power to legislate on all matters within the limits of British India, and the Crown, acting through the Secretary of State, has merely the power of veto. It was intended that all members of the Council, official as well as non-official, should deal with all matters in a perfectly independent spirit, and that the power of veto should only be exercised in extreme cases. But, as in executive matters, there has been a tendency on the part of the Secretary of State to encroach on the powers of the Government of India. Under the cover of the power of the veto, he requires the more important measures of Government to be submitted to him for approval before the Bills to give effect to them are introduced into the Council, and its official members are expected, though not to the same extent as in England, to support the Bills that may thus be introduced.

Besides the power of control over the making of laws which I have endeavoured to explain in the above remarks,

there exists for all the colonies, self-governing or dependent, and for India, a very real control over the administration of the law, which is exercised by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This body is the final court of appeal for all parts of the British dominions outside the United Kingdom. Cases come before it from all quarters of the globe, and it has to act as the final interpreter of almost every known system of law—English, Colonial, Hindu, and Mohammedan, and even the still more intricate systems of customary or tribal law, by which most of the native races are governed. Yet, strange to say, this Supreme Court is not, strictly speaking, a Court at all. Its jurisdiction arises simply out of the right of every British subject who believes that a wrong has been done him to petition his Sovereign personally for redress. Of course, there are limits imposed by the various Legislatures as to the nature and value of the cases in which an appeal to Her Majesty in Council is allowed, but when it is allowed it takes the form of a petition to the Sovereign, which is referred by her to certain select members of her Privy Council for consideration. They consider it not as a bench of judges sitting in state, but as a small group of elderly gentlemen in plain clothes seated at the end of an office table, and the result of their deliberations is recorded, not in the form of a decree of a Court, but merely as "humble advice" to Her Majesty to take certain action. It is needless to say that Her Majesty always does act on the advice given, but the whole procedure is a curious illustration of the affection of the English constitution for old forms long after the substance has completely changed.

In concluding this brief sketch of the constitutional relations between England and her Colonial Empire, I cannot, in the presence of an American audience,* refrain from giving expression to the thought, which must often

* This paper was read before the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, U.S.A., by the author, who was appointed by the University of Oxford to represent it, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Law School Buildings of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

occur to most Englishmen, What would that Empire have been if you had continued to form part of it? In its mere external form it would have been an Empire extending over more than 15,000,000 of square miles, and containing, in addition to nearly 300,000,000 British subjects of other races, a population of 130,000,000 of English-speaking freemen; and its internal strength would have been greater even than its form. I have said that the chief cause of our losing you was that England failed to recognise when her child was grown up. It may be that the child was so strong and vigorous, and his future in life so great, that the most judicious treatment would have failed to permanently retain him, even in a nominal dependence, on his mother. If this is so, if we must have parted company some day, at any rate we need not have parted in anger. But time softens the bitterness of even the most serious family quarrels, and I think it may be truly said that in ours all sense of bitterness passed away a hundred years ago, and that the lesser feelings of jealousy and estrangement have gone also. Year by year the two great kindred nations are drawing closer and closer together; they are learning to understand one another better, to rejoice with each other in prosperity, to sympathize with each other in trouble, to recognise the truth of the old saying that "Blood is thicker than water," and to feel that we are not merely friends, with interests and feelings in common, but are truly members of one family. When we come to you we receive even more than a family welcome, and when you come to us it is not to see a strange country, but to revisit your old home. Many of you, I am glad to say, visit Oxford in the course of your tours, and I have no doubt that as you gaze on the old colleges and recall their founders and benefactors and the history of the times in which they lived, it is a pleasure to you to feel that this history is your history, that these men were your ancestors, and that you have as good a right to claim admission to the colleges as founders' kin as any inhabitant of the British Isles.

THE REFERENDUM IN AUSTRALIA.

By G. B. Barton, Sydney.

The working of the Referendum during the recent federal tion contest in Australia—the first experiment of the kind made in any part of the British dominions—supplies a curious comment on the views expressed by many advocates of that principle in England. Alarmed at the prospect of great constitutional changes, such as that involved in the Home Rule Bill being forced on the nation by a party vote in Parliament, they seem to have turned to the Swiss practice as a national safeguard, if not the only one, in the hour of danger, forgetting that it might be used for other purposes than that of a veto. As Mr. Lecky put it in "Democracy and Liberty," it would prove a powerful bulwark against violent and dishonest change; it would bring into action the opinion of the great silent masses of the community; it would lift a capital measure above the dominion of party; it would enable the nation to reject a measure it disliked, without destroying a Ministry of which it approved; it would serve as an appeal from a party majority to the genuine opinion of the country; it would be a clear and decisive verdict on a matter on which the two branches of the Legislature had differed; the vote would be given with a much fuller consideration, and a much more serious sense of responsibility than if the question were mixed up with a crowd of minor issues; the electors would be likely to vote more independently, and less at the dictation of party wire-pullers, than they usually do at a General Election.

Professor Dicey is even more emphatic in his estimate of the Referendum as a national safeguard. "It is difficult," he wrote in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1890, "to exaggerate the immense benefit which, in the long-run, accrues to a people from the habit of treating legislation as a matter to be determined, not by the instincts of political partisanship, but by the weight of argument. The

Referendum is, or may be, an education, such as is absolutely unattainable by voters under existing conditions." The truth of these and many similar propositions may be tested by a simple narrative of events connected with the introduction of this thaumaturgic machinery in the Australian colonies, and more particularly in the leading one—New South Wales.

II. From the time that the question of their federation assumed a tangible shape—in other words, from the establishment of Parliamentary or responsible government—the movement was entirely in the hands of a few of their leading politicians, who were in the habit of ventilating their ideas about it as opportunity offered. The general run of people, for the most part, regarded it as "outside the range of practical politics." One General Election succeeded another, yet no one ever heard of it on the hustings, for the simple reason that no one dreamed of making it a party question. Ministerial Conferences discussed it now and again in Sydney and Melbourne, but the discussions excited no more interest outside than those on postal or tariff questions. Everyone agreed that it was a good thing, and yet somehow the tendency seemed to be to diverge rather than unite. While prominent public men advocated the cause of union and brotherhood, the Parliaments carried on a border warfare in the shape of Customs duties and railway rates, designed to divert their neighbours' internal trade to their own ports.

The ultimate issue of this conflict between opinion and action remained doubtful for many years, and doubt often gave way to despair. The people were apathetic everywhere. Their most popular politicians were powerless to awaken even a show of sympathy with the idea of a federated Australia. The glory of nationhood, the noble enterprise of nation-building, of which we have heard so much of late, never evoked a thrill. No statesman exercised more com manding influence than Sir Henry Parkes; but all his labours in the cause, prior to 1890, failed to give it more than a semblance of popularity. No orator displayed so much

sympathetic eloquence as William Bede Dalley, nor was anyone less provincial in his way of thinking. But in none of the many eloquent speeches he delivered was this subject even alluded to as one of popular interest. He never got beyond the idea of a small Federal Council, with limited powers of legislation and without any Executive, such as was created by the Federal Council Act of 1885.

The hopeless position into which the movement had drifted, even so late as 1890, may be seen in the article contributed by Sir Charles Duffy to the *Contemporary*, in April of that year, under the title "The Road to Australian Federation." The best road that he could point out was an Imperial one—perhaps the most impracticable of all roads. The British Parliament was advised to pass an Act declaring the high importance of Australian federation to the Empire; whereupon two Royal Commissioners were to be sent out to the colonies, with power to convene a Conference of Delegates from each, ascertain their views, and reconcile their conflicting opinions. The charm of Imperial influence would prove irresistible; the colonies would sink their differences, and federation would be accomplished at a stroke. Now, it is difficult to understand how an old Victorian politician could have satisfied himself that such a proposal would be acceptable to the hot-tempered Australian democracy.

Still another striking proof of the public apathy presents itself in the fate of the Draft Bill brought forth by the National Australasian Convention of 1891, assembled in Sydney at the instance of Sir Henry Parkes. Although that body included all the leading politicians of Australia and New Zealand, nominated by their respective Parliaments, and although its proceedings created an unusual flutter of excitement, the enthusiasm was mostly confined to the delegates and their friends. The demon of opposition—there was but one—appeared in the person of Mr. G. H. Reid, a former supporter of Sir Henry's, who picked a great many holes in the Bill. His main contention was that the federal tariff would be fatal to the free trade policy

of New South Wales; and he illustrated his doctrine by a clever fable, showing how a temperance man was once beguiled to his ruin by four or five drunkards, who persuaded him to keep house with them for their mutual benefit. But this erratic display of opposition did no great harm to the cause, and soon died out. Unfortunately, the public feeling in favour of it also died out, and a cloud of darkness again fell over the scene. Sir Henry found himself unable to do anything with the Bill, and left it to float about like a derelict on the waters.

III. After an interval of three years, Democracy came upon the political stage and took charge of the movement, for reasons of its own. A sudden turn of the wheel of fortune placed Mr. Reid at the head of a new Government, depending for its majority on the allegiance of the Labour party, who held his crown in pawn. The Referendum being one of their favourite planks, it was adopted for the purpose of dealing with the federation problem, which the versatile Premier found it convenient to take up, notwithstanding the threatened extinction of free trade. He had to choose between taking it up as a leader or resigning that pre-eminence to another, and under that pressure he abandoned his former tactics, and placed himself at the head of the federal movement. The Referendum was to be brought into play like a Maxim gun, and sweep the battle-field with a mass vote.

It was arranged at a Conference of the Premiers that an Enabling Act should be passed concurrently by the Parliaments, authorizing the election of ten delegates by each of the colonies to another Convention, and the submission of the Draft Bill to the people after it had been considered in the Parliaments. Each of the colonies was proclaimed a single electorate for the purpose, and notwithstanding the labour and expense involved in canvassing an enormous area, all the most prominent politicians entered the lists. A number of unknown democrats also entered them, but only one was returned. There was no material difference between the men elected and those who had been nominated

by the Parliaments in 1891 ; most of them had served on the first Convention. They were nearly all of the same type—old Parliamentary hands, versed in party tactics, and well known to the public. The conspicuous services rendered by Mr. Edmund Barton to the cause were recognised by the electors, who placed him at the head of the poll with a total of nearly 100,000 votes in his favour.

The Referendum, therefore, had not shown itself a very democratic machine, as its authors supposed it would, so far as the elections were concerned; but the people were thoroughly roused for the first time in the history of the movement. Nor was the interest excited by the elections at all lessened during its subsequent stages. The three sessions of the Convention held at Adelaide, Sydney, and Melbourne were watched attentively from day to day through the newspapers. When the Draft Bill was made public, its provisions were discussed with a great deal more spirit and intelligence than those of the first had been. The fact that it was to be submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection made everyone feel that its fate no longer depended on the whims of politicians, and a novel sense of responsibility was generated in the electoral mind.

IV. As soon as it was laid before Parliament, a strong feeling of opposition was manifested towards it in Sydney. The financial scheme embodied in it was condemned by financial critics, mainly on the ground that it involved an unjustly heavy burden of taxation on New South Wales. Commercial men pointed out that the shipping and import trade of the port would be seriously affected by the heavy Customs duties required to yield a revenue of £8,000,000, and that the internal trade of the colony would be largely diverted from Sydney to Melbourne and Adelaide. Democrats, on the other hand, insisted that "majority rule" was endangered by the adoption of equal State representation in the Senate, by the provisions for preventing deadlocks between the Houses, and by those for procuring alterations of the Constitution. These classes, widely differing in their aims and character, joined hands in organizing an

agitation for such amendments as would obviate their objections; while the old Federation League exerted itself with renewed vigour to crush the opposition, which had become formidable through the support of a powerful section of the press.

Perhaps the greatest surprise of the campaign was the sudden appearance of Mr. Reid in the character of an adversary. His opinion of the Bill, expressed in many public speeches, fully endorsed that of the hostile critics. Treasurer as well as Premier, his view of the financial situation carried great weight; while his alliance with the Labour party gave no little point to his comments on the question of majority rule. His strongest colleague, Mr. Want, the Attorney-General, was a declared provincialist, and made no secret of his opinions on the platforms, from which he exhorted the people to reject the Bill. The other members of the Cabinet, of course, took their cue from their leader, and toured the colony in the same spirit, using the same arguments against it. By bringing the whole weight of the Government to bear upon the voting, they succeeded in defeating it, the number of votes polled being under the statutory minimum of 80,000.

There cannot be any doubt that in assuming this attitude towards it the members of the Government were animated by a sense of responsibility to the country. The opinions they expressed were not uttered under any pressure from without, and were to all appearance the result of genuine conviction. They may have overestimated the weight of their argument against the Bill, or they may have underestimated the strength of the current setting towards federation. In either case, they may be credited with having acted honestly in taking the stand they did. But when they discovered, as the result of the General Election which followed shortly after the Referendum (the Parliament having run its term of three years), that a large majority of the new members was pledged to federation, a remarkable change came over them. The searchlight had revealed a situation which took them by surprise. Under

its influence the Premier at once moderated his tone, his trusty colleagues followed suit, and federation was taken up as a Government question of the first importance.

In view of the facts stated, it will be of some interest to note the words put into the Governor's mouth on the opening of the final Session of the old Parliament, and also those used at the opening of the first Session of the new one. On June 21, 1898, eighteen days after the Referendum, his Excellency said: "The Government did not call Parliament together before the poll was taken, believing it to be their duty to abstain from any course that might tend to encourage party conflicts, or to inflame the issues of local politics, at a time when the minds of the electors were fully occupied with the great struggle which was being waged for and against a measure fraught with the gravest consequences to the national life of Australia."

On August 17, 1898, His Excellency said: "The events of the General Election have shown, in a manner not to be mistaken, the emphatic desire of the people for the speedy accomplishment of federal union. At the same time, it has been made equally clear that some of the provisions of the Bill drawn for that purpose have failed to meet with the approval of the electors. . . . Whatever may be the means employed to overcome existing difficulties or the decisions arrived at, the Ministry consider that the Bill in its final shape should be submitted to the direct vote of the whole body of electors."

V. A series of resolutions was brought forward by Mr. Reid embodying the amendments considered necessary to safeguard the interests of the colony as well as the democratic principle of majority rule. The discussion which followed their introduction soon showed that a change had come over the spirit of Parliament as remarkable in its way as that which had affected the minds of Ministers. It was always understood that a perfectly free hand was to be allowed in debating the Bill and suggesting amendments. The old Parliament had exercised this privilege without restraint, but when the new one took up the debate it

became evident that a large majority had no intention whatever to do so. The few members who ventured to fight for a principle were overwhelmed with the cry, "Send it on to the people!" The resolutions were carried on the voices, and the debate, so far as the Assembly was concerned, rapidly degenerated into a farce. It was not so in the Upper House, the members of which were nominated for life, and had no fear of elections or mass votes to disturb their judgment or dull their sense of responsibility. The contrast between the two Houses was striking in many respects. While one retained possession of its senses and its independence, the other was utterly demoralized.

Such a spectacle does not tend to confirm Mr. Dicey's views as to the elevating effect of the Referendum on the action of Parliament. "Debates in Parliament," he thought, "would in any case possess immense importance. The certainty of an appeal to the people might add to the reality, and increase the force of Parliamentary argument." But the demoralizing process which had set in did not end here. Humiliating as it was in the case of Parliament, it proved to be simply debasing in that of the Government. Having carried his resolutions *holus bolus*, with certain others tacked on at the instance of the Labour party, Mr. Reid invited the Premiers of the other colonies to meet him in a Conference for the purpose of considering them. They were not at all willing to do so, but they finally consented, and one was held in Melbourne in January, 1899. His fate was that of the man who went out for wool and came back shorn. His resolutions melted like so much wax in the fire. The few concessions he obtained were of such a nature that when they were made known in Sydney the opposition to the Bill was greatly inflamed and aggravated. "They only make it worse than it was before," cried the critics. His defence of them was a simple apology; they were the best he could get. It was that or nothing. With the fear of the Referendum before him, he had no choice but to go straight on to [illegible]

amended amendments were accordingly rushed through both Houses, and a day was proclaimed for another mass vote. Swallowing his former opinions, he addressed himself to the task of forcing the Bill on the electors. His power of platform-speaking, great at all times, was exerted to the utmost stretch in the effort to remove the suspicions and allay the fears of those whom he had turned against it by his former speeches. His colleagues, following suit as before, echoed his arguments in its favour from the very platforms on which they had previously denounced it. Like Tam o' Shanter pursued by the witches, the unhappy Ministers, knowing that their fate depended on their exertions, rushed from town to town throughout the colony, and adjured the electors, with the best grace they could, to accept the Bill.

In a country where the influence of the Government is almost without limits at election times, the result of this tactical movement was inevitable. The Bill was carried by a majority of 24,000. But notwithstanding the personal efforts made by Ministers, the result might still have been different had the matter been left "to be determined, not by the instincts of political partisanship, but by the weight of argument." From a New South Wales point of view, the weight of argument was not a fraction less in 1899 than it was when the Premier and his colleagues warned the country against the Bill a year before. But from the moment that they took it up as a party question, the weight of argument ceased to be a matter of any importance. The overwhelming power of Government was used without any scruple or hesitation for the purpose of obtaining votes. The "education" of the electors was conducted on a most liberal and comprehensive scale. Bribery and corruption, of course, were never thought of, but the "application of men's understandings to the weightiest of political concerns" was of much the same kind as it is in the commonest of business transactions. From the mechanics and shopkeepers of the city, struggling against a prolonged depression of trade, down to the settlers on

the drought-stricken borders, harassed by the stock-tax and other Customs duties, there was hardly a class or an interest that was not urged to vote for the Bill on the ground that it would be "money in their pockets" to do so. Federation was painted in the rosy colours of the dawn—a dawn of commercial prosperity, heralded by the introduction of free trade between the colonies and fresh streams of English capital at 2 per cent.

The action of the Ministry on this occasion will serve to throw some light on another proposition laid down by Mr. Dicey. The Referendum, he thought, would so far modify the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility that the defeat of a Government measure by a mass vote might be treated in England, as it is in Switzerland, as a matter that hardly concerned the Government. "The Minister might say that it was a matter over which the nation was the final judge, and that he accepted the nation's decision. If still supported by Parliament, he might continue to administer the affairs of the country as honourably as Peel held office after the passing of the Reform Act." It would have suited Mr. Reid's purpose admirably if he could have acted in that easy-going fashion. But under party government he had an Opposition to reckon with, and they would never consent to his holding office in the teeth of a mass vote. If he had not made the Bill a party question and staked the existence of his Administration on it, he would have had to make way for someone else. He could not even maintain the position he took up before the first Referendum —that of a judicial critic, pointing out the defects in the Bill, and leaving the people to form their own opinions about it. Had he been permitted to do so, he might have rendered invaluable service to the country and saved his reputation.

Thus it will be seen that, while there is little to be said in favour of the Swiss machinery, as a means of elevating the tone of public life or safeguarding the country against rash and ill-considered constitutional changes, a great deal may be said for it as a specific for apathy on questions of

great moment. Through its agency, backed by that of party government, the Federal party was enabled in three years to accomplish an object which it had been vainly striving to bring about for many years previously, with all the Ministerial and Parliamentary influence it could command. If it had been confined to those influences—in other words, to the legitimate working of public opinion—it would have taken many years more to do what has now been done with a precipitate rush. Successful as their tactics have been, it yet remains to be seen whether all the constitutional wisdom of the past can be wisely exchanged for a popular vote.

VI. Another delusion dispelled by the working of the Referendum was its supposed democratic tendency. Its advocates based their calculations on the results obtained in Switzerland, without making due allowance for the totally different conditions under which it was introduced in Australia. For one thing, they did not weigh the essential difference between a mere veto and the reference of a constitutional question to the people, as a party measure. For another, they greatly overestimated the weight of the democratic vote when pitted against the rest of the population. The Bill of 1891 did not find favour in their eyes, because it did not qualify the suffrage with the principle "One man one vote"; but when that and other points had been conceded to them by an Electoral Act two years later, they contested the elections for delegates with absolute confidence. The result, as we have seen, proved a bitter disappointment. From that time forth the Labour party appear to have felt much less interest in federation than before. The elections showed them how heavily a democratic candidate would be handicapped in a contest for a seat in the Federal Parliament. They saw for the first time the vast difference between the electorates in a provincial and those in a federal election, the latter comprising the whole colony for the Senate—an area of over 300,000 square miles—and large divisions for the House of Repre-

sentatives. A candidate of limited means could not stand under such conditions with any hope of success, however popular he might be among the democrats.

The impotence of the party was demonstrated in a still more conclusive manner by the result of their opposition to the Bill. Their attacks were concentrated on two clauses, which involved the sacred principle of "majority rule." With a view to the prevention of deadlocks, it provided for a joint sitting of the two Houses, and required a majority of three-fifths to carry a Bill sent up from the Lower and thrown out by the Upper. And in the case of a proposed alteration of the Constitution it provided for a dual Referendum—one to the States, and the other to the people, and required a majority of the electors voting in a majority of the States. In the name of majority rule, they demanded that these clauses should be amended by substituting a simple majority for one of three-fifths, and by omitting the reference to the States. But notwithstanding their persistent efforts to defeat it on these grounds, the Bill was accepted by a majority of 5,000 in New South Wales, and 111,000 in the four colonies, at the first Referendum. Mr. Reid did his best to obtain these concessions at the Conference of Premiers—all true democrats like himself, dependent on Labour parties; but all he could get was an absolute majority of both Houses at the joint sitting. Majority rule was again invoked against the Bill, and still more determined efforts were made to defeat it at the second Referendum. But the result was a still more decided rebuff. They were completely submerged at the polling, the Bill obtaining a majority of 24,000 in the colony and 200,000 in the whole four.

VII. This statement of the facts connected with the adoption of the Referendum will be sufficient to bring out the leading points established by it. It will be seen that if, on the one hand, it gave vitality to the question and success to the movement, on the other it not only weakened the authority of Parliament, but demoralized it and the

Government together. We have yet to see whether ordinary Parliamentary action was rightly superseded in order to get immediate results. Had it been a matter of vital importance to establish a Federal Government without loss of time—as, for instance, in view of an impending war—the policy was justified. In the absence of any such paramount consideration, it was a questionable one from many points of view.

Seeing that the union of the colonies was only a question of time, and that the opposition in New South Wales was directed, not against it, but against the terms, there was no good reason why the usual course of Parliamentary procedure should have been set aside. It could not be said that either the Parliament or the Government was obstructive, both being the subservient creatures of the people's will. Their independence was sacrificed at a critical moment at the behest of a party which appeared to be influenced more by enthusiasm than by sound sense. The result was a triumph for it, but not for the country. The majority which carried the Bill was not by any means a majority of the electors. It was but 107,000 out of a total of 300,000. The minority of 82,000 was thus compelled to accept terms which it considered unjust and oppressive. There will be consequent dissension instead of harmony, antagonism in place of union accompanied by frequent cries for a Referendum to alter the constitution, first on one question and then on another, keeping the country in a state of chronic unrest. If ever there was a question which demanded careful and prolonged deliberation, it was surely this. If ever there was an occasion on which hasty and precipitate action was to be avoided, it was certainly this. The folly of a people committing themselves for all time to a scheme of government which many competent critics pronounce to be radically defective, and which yet cannot be amended without a desperate struggle, is manifest and marvellous. But there was only one means by which such a result could have been brought about, and that was the use of the Referendum as a party machine.

WAS 'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM THE TRANSLATOR OF BĀBAR'S MEMOIRS INTO PERSIAN?

By H. Beveridge.

It is a commonly received opinion that Bābar's Memoirs were translated into Persian by 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, the son of Bairām Khān, and that this was the first time that the whole of the work was translated. The facts are vouched for by Abul Fazl, Nizāmu-d-dīn, Ferishta, and the author of the Maaṣir raḥīmī, and subsequent writers have repeated their statements. It seems also certain that 'Abdu-r-raḥīm claimed to be the translator, and that he presented his performance to Akbar in the thirty-fourth year of the reign, 997 A.H., or 1589, when the King was returning from Kashmīr.

But a fine copy of the Persian translation of the Memoirs in the possession of the Rajah of Alwar seems to overthrow 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's claim, for it goes to show that the translation which now passes under 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's name was in existence thirty years before he was born. The copy in question is in the Palace Library in Alwar, which is a native State in eastern Rājputāna, and it was seen and examined by me there on several successive days in the month of September, 1899. The wording of this copy agreed, wherever I compared it, in all particulars with that commonly known as 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's translation, and which was printed in Bombay two or three years ago by Mīrzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī. It begins in the same way with the statement that the author became king of Ferghāna in 899; it has the same blanks for various years, and it has the same abrupt ending about the surrender of Gwāliār. Whenever I compared particular passages, *e.g.*, the account of Bābar's diamond, the wording of the Alwar manuscript and of the Bombay text was exactly the same, and I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the two works represent the same translation. Any doubt which

may exist on this point can, I think, be removed by an examination of the British Museum manuscript Or. 1827, and described in Rieu's Catalogue, iii. 926*a*. This manuscript is a series of extracts made for Sir Henry Elliot about 1850 from a copy of the Persian Memoirs of Bābar, and an entry on the fly-leaf says, "Copied from the Ulwah (*sic*) Rajah's book." On a blank page a little further on there is the Persian note that the extracts were sent from the Alwar State through the instrumentality of Mr. Rickard (?), the Agent for the Jaipur State. The extracts begin with the year 910, and describe Bābar's march from Farghana, and his shaving of himself for the first time. There is no reference to the condition of the original, nor are the seals, nor the all-important colophon copied, but I think that the extracts must have been made from the manuscript which I saw. Indeed, I believe there is only one copy of Bābar's Memoirs in the Rajah's library. So far as I have examined Or. 1827, the translation is the same as that ascribed to 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, and Dr. Rieu in his notice does not speak of there being any difference between them. On the contrary, he describes the manuscript as "three detached portions of the translation of the Memoirs of Bābar by Mīrzī 'Abdu-r-raḥīm."

But the colophon of the Alwar copy, *i.e.*, the original of Or. 1827, states that it was made by 'Ali al Kātib in 937 (the year of Bābar's death), the year being given both in figures and in words. I annex a copy of the colophon. Its purport is that this book, called in Turkī the Wāq'iyāt Bābarī, was completed by 'Ali al Kātib—may his sins be forgiven!—on the last day of Jamāda aṣ-ṣānī 937, in accordance with the orders of Hūmāyūn, a king's son (*shāhzāda*), and a teacher's son (*murshidzāda*). On the back of the first page, which is illuminated, and contains a few lines of the beginning of the translation, there are enclosed within a lozenge-shaped figure the impressions of several seals, and a statement, enclosed in a gilded circular device, that the book was inspected on the 1st Jamāda aṣ-ṣānī after

afternoon prayer (there is no year mentioned). The seal at the top is a small oval seal of Humāyūn, with the words Muḥammad Humāyūn, and a date which, I think, is 942 (A.D. 1535-6). Below this and at the side are two small oval seals of Akbar, with the words Allāh Akbar, Jal Jalālahū, and the date 981 (A.D. 1573-4). There are also two seals of Shāh Jahān, and one or more seals of the Rajah of Alwar. There are also sundry notes about the book's having been inspected, and the statement that the book was purchased by Rajah Banī Singh of Alwar in 1853 Samvat (A.D. 1796). Rajah Banī Singh seems to have been a great and liberal ruler. It was he who made the noble reservoir in the hills (the Silī Serh), nine miles from the town of Alwar, and the aqueduct which brings its waters to the plains; and it was he, too, who made the Alwar Library, which contains many valuable Persian manuscripts and still more Sanskrit works. It was he who had the Gulistān prepared, which Mr. Eastwick has described as "matchless," and which, according to the palace people, cost one lakh and seventy-five thousand rupees. Not that the Rajah paid this sum at one time, but the calligrapher and the painter and others were employed for twelve years on the work, and their pay, etc., for that period amounted to the above sum.* The copy of the Gulistān is a very fine one, but perhaps the most interesting thing about it is that the beautiful penmanship is the work of an Armenian (Aghā Mīrzā) who was converted to Muḥammadanism at Delhi, and who died in the Rajah's service. To return, however, to the Wāq'iyāt Bābari, I have to say that Rajah Banī Singh has treated the manuscript in a manner worthy of a land of peacocks and pageantries. He has framed the pages of the manuscript in long and wide margins of *abrī*, *i.e.*, clouded paper,

* Dr. Hendley, in his "Alwar and its Art Treasures" (London, 1888), says: "The total amount was taken to be one lakh, but as the men were often employed during its progress on casual work, it would be better to assume that the estimate of half that sum made by Colonel Cadell was more correct."

and he has given the book a rich gold binding, so that it makes a sumptuous folio. The manuscript contains several well-executed illustrations, and the writing is beautifully clear and regular. The first illustration is a double one, and represents the boy Bābar (he was only twelve then) being enthroned at Andijān. There is also a fine one of Bābar's circumambulating Nizāmuddin Auliyā's tomb, with a view of Fīrūz Shah Tughlāq's stone pillar in the distance, and another of the Quṭb,* showing a large domed mosque in its vicinity.

If the evidence of the colophon and of the seals be accepted—and I do not see how it can be rejected except by regarding the whole book as a fraud and a forgery—it is clear that 'Abdu-r-raḥīm did not translate the Memoirs. Probably all he did was to present Akbar with a copy—perhaps an illuminated one—of the old translation; I am loath to believe that he gave out that the translation was his own handiwork.

I think, too, that it may reasonably be doubted if 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was competent to translate this book. His father probably knew Turkī, despite the fact that he was born in Badakhshān, and was a Shīà in religion; but he was murdered when 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was only four years old, and the latter was the son of a Hindustānī mother, and was born and bred and spent all his life in India.

I have said that the writing of the manuscript is beautifully clear and regular. Now, the writer is said to have been 'Alī al Kātib, and it seems to me that in all probability he is identical with the famous calligrapher Mīr 'Alī al Kātib, also called Mīr 'Alī Mashhadī, and whose takhallus was majnūn, mentioned in Sachau and Ethé's catalogue of the Bodleian Persian manuscripts, articles Nos. 1896 and 1897, pp. 1089 and 1090; and in Rieu's

* Does not the fact that Bābar speaks of visiting the shrine of the saint Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn, *i.e.*, Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtyār Kākī, and that he says nothing about Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak, raise a presumption that, in his opinion at least, the minār is named after the saint, and not after the Sulṭan? See Shīrāzi's ed., p. 176.

Catalogue, ii. 531*a*, and iii. 1089*a*. I have looked up the passage in the Majālis al Mūminīn, fol. 487, quoted by Dr. Rieu, and I find that it is not expressly stated there that Mīr 'Alī was carried off from Herāt to Bokhara. What it says is, that he and many learned men of Herāt were carried off. In the account in the Majālis it is said that Mīr 'Alī was a pupil of Zainu-d-dīn, bin Mahmūd, and of the famous Sulṭān 'Alī of Mashhad, and we are told that he on one occasion copied out three specimens of Sulṭān 'Alī's handwriting and presented them with the originals to him, and that the latter, after carefully examining them, took the copies for the originals. Apparently Mīr 'Alī died in Bokhārā about 950 A.H.* (1543).

In the Persian copies of the Memoirs there is a curious note by Humāyūn about the year when he first applied a razor to his face. It occurs in the Indian part of the Memoirs, shortly before the account of the battle of Pānipat, and is incorporated with the text both in the Alwar copy and in the Shīrāzī edition. Humāyūn says there that he was eighteen years of age when he began to shave, and he makes this note at the age of forty-six—consequently in 959 A.H. (1552), shortly before his invasion of India. He says he is induced to make it because the deceased author of the Memoirs had made a similar note as to the time when he first used the razor. This refers to a passage at the beginning of Bābar's account of the events of 910, where Bābar says that he first used the razor in his twenty-third year. Both in the Alwar copy and Shīrāzī†

* B. M. MS. Or. 1372 contains several specimens of Mīr 'Alī's handwriting, and among these is the verse quoted in the Majālis al Mūminin lamenting his detention in Bokhara. These specimens are signed by him, *e.g.*, 5*b*, 6*a*, 8*a*. One is dated 939 A.H. I may note here that MS. Or. 1372 is a most curious and interesting album, and that among other things it contains an Indian representation of the deposition from the Cross, and a singular picture of Jesus Christ and a Bayadere (?). In the Oriental Section of the South Kensington Museum, Room XVI., there is an exhibition described as sixteen pages of Khatai paper written by the calligraphist Mīr 'Alī.

† The note will be found at p. 171 of the Shīrāzī edition, near the foot, and Bābar's remark at p. 75 of the same edition.

edition Humāyūn's note is followed by a statement of the copyist (?), which is also made part of the text, that the note is copied from Humāyūn's own handwriting. Now, the note is in Persian, and presumably Humāyūn wrote it in that language. If it had been in Turkī, the copyist would probably have given the Turkī, or have said that he had translated it, and not that he had copied it. May we not also infer that Humāyūn made the note in the Persian translation? He knew Turkī, and if he had been annotating his father's Turkī book, he would naturally have put his note into the same language. But if the Persian translation existed in Humāyūn's lifetime, the claim of Abdu-r-raḥīm to be the first translator, or to be a translator at all, falls to the ground. Humāyūn's note is translated in Erskine (p. 303), and he has a remark on the subject. The note also appears in the Turkī in Ilminsky's edition (p. 340), and in Pavet de Courteille's translation (ii. 159); but in both the wording does not agree with the Persian, and the statement seems abridged from the Persian. Indeed, Pavet de Courteille refers in a note to the Persian for an elucidation of the passage. As my wife has pointed out to me, there is another note ascribed to Humāyūn by Erskine. It is a long note about the amrat fruit, which seems to be the pummaloe or shaddock. It is given in Erskine (p. 329), who says that it is in the Turkī copy—*i.e.*, Mr. Elphinstone's copy, which, unfortunately, seems to have disappeared, and not in the Persian copies. The note is not in Ilminsky (see p. 372), nor in Pavet de Courteille, and I should doubt if it really was by Humāyūn. I hardly think that he would have pronounced his father incapable of judging of sweet fruits because of his addiction to alcoholic liquors. Nor was Humāyūn ever at Sonargaon. Perhaps the note is Jahāngīr's. Mr. Erskine does not say if it is in Persian or Turkī.

After visiting Alwar, I had an opportunity of seeing a fine copy of Bābar's memoirs belonging to the Agra College. It is the solitary remainder of the Oriental

manuscripts which that institution once possessed, but which were burnt by the escaped prisoners of the gaol in 1857. Its preservation was due to the fact that at that time it had been lent out to one of the Maulvis—a fact which might be a defence of borrowing.

The Agra manuscript has no colophon, and a blank page which contained Jahāngīr's signature has been lost. On the back of the first page there is a note expressive of thanks for having obtained the book, and the words, in the same handwriting, *taḥrīr Sāḥib Qirān*—the writing of Sāḥib Qirān. Possibly the word ṣānī also occurs, but it is not very legible. This note would seem to say that it was written by Shāh Jahān, though it seems odd that he should sign himself Sāḥib Qirān ṣānī. There is no other indication of old possession, except a seal bearing the date 1121 A.H. The copy is well written, and it has several illustrations which seem to me to be reductions from those in the splendid copy in the British Museum.

I strongly suspect that the Turkī version as we have it, *i.e.*, the Ilminsky edition, is of recent origin and of little authority. It is certainly later than the Alwar copy of the Persian translation, for it gives an account of Bābar's death and of the officers of his Court. Perhaps it is the copy to which Jahāngīr added some chapters, as mentioned in Elliot, iv. 218.* Dr. Teufel suggests, in a paper in the D. M. Z. G., that the last chapters are a forgery concocted by, or in imitation of, Abul Fazl. But the account of Bābar's illness is older than Abul Fazl, for it occurs in Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs.

It is well known that three persons besides 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translated portions of Bābar's Memoirs. Their

* Langlés in his article on Bābar in the *Biog. Universelle*, says that Jahāngīr added to the Memoirs. Erskine contradicts this statement, because he supposes Langlés to mean that the additions were made *before* 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's translation; but Langlés' words do not necessarily imply this, and the fact that Jahāngīr added some chapters to the Memoirs is recorded by himself, apropos of his visit to Kabul and to his ancestors' tomb.

names are Shaikh Zain, Mīrzā Pāyinda Ḥasan Ghaznavī, and Muhammad Qulī Moghal Ḥiṣārī. There are copies of their translations in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian. Shaikh Zain was the oldest of the three, for he was a contemporary of Bābar. It has occurred to me that he may be the real author of the translation of which Abdu-r-Rahīm has got the credit. My chief reason for this view is the fact that Shaikh Zain wrote two books, one a translation of Bābar's Memoirs, and the other a history of Bābar's conquest of India. This fact is, I think, vouched for by Badāūnī, and is hesitatingly stated by Dr. Rieu, who at vol. iii., 926*b*, of his catalogue says: "Besides translating the Wāqiyāt-i-Bābari, he (S. Zain) is said to have written a history of the conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of that country. He died 940 A.H. (1533)." This statement is probably based on Badāūnī, who says at p. 341, vol. i., Bib. Ind. ed., and 448 of Dr. Ranking's translation, that Shaikh Zain Khānī made a translation of Bābar's Memoirs; and further on, p. 471 of text and p. 609 of translation, says that Shaikh Zain Khwāfī wrote a book on the conquest of India. I think there can be little doubt that the two Shaikh Zains are one and the same person, but I do not think that the books described in the two places are one and the same. Evidently Dr. Ranking had no suspicion that there was any identity between them, for he says in a note to his p. 448 that he has never heard elsewhere of this translation of the Memoirs. This goes to show that he did not consider it to be the paraphrase described by Professor Dowson Elliot (iv. 288). Nor do I think that even an Oriental writer like Badāūnī would describe the same book in two different places, or that he would call Shaikh Zain's paraphrase of a brief portion of the Memoirs, viz., that relating to the conquest of India, an elegant translation of the Memoirs.

In Sachau and Ethé's Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, p. 101, art. 179, there is an obscurely-worded statement that the first part of Bābar's Memoirs was translated by Shaikh

Zain or Mīrzā Bānīda Ḥaṣan Ghaznavī. The authority given for this is a preface to the second part of a translation of the Memoirs by Muḥammad Qulī Moghal Ḥiṣārī. I have not examined the Bodleian manuscript on this point,* but I suspect that the statement above referred to is a mistaken version of Muḥammad Qulī's remark. His preface is also to be found in the copy of his translation in the India Office, No. 215, p. 91 of Dr. Ethé's Catalogue. At p. 74 of this manuscript Muḥammad Qulī remarks, *Shaikh Zain barkhī az ān bazaban-i-farsī namūda*—Shaikh Zain translated a portion of these [the Memoirs] into Persian. He does not say what portion. See also Rieu's Catalogue, ii. 799*b*. Another thing to be noticed is that Nizāmū-d-dīn, the author of the Ṭabaqāt Akbarī, in giving a list of the authorities he had consulted, mentions the Tārīkh-i-Bābar and the Wāqiyāt-i-Bābarī, as if they were two distinct works.†

It seems to me, therefore, if I may venture to express the opinion, that Dr. Rieu is correct in saying that two works were ascribed to Shaikh Zain. But where he seems to me to be wrong is in regarding the paraphrased narrative of the conquest of India to be the work described by Badāūnī as the translation of the Memoirs. The work which Mr. Erskine and Dr. Rieu consider to be Shaikh Zain's translation of the Memoirs seems to me to be his book on the conquest of India, and sometimes called by the title of Fatūḥāt-i-Hind, and the translation of the Memoirs I think to be that preserved in the Alwar copy, and referred to by Muḥammad Qulī Ḥiṣārī. Instead, therefore, of Dr. Rieu's statement at p. 926*b* of his catalogue, that "Besides translating the Waq'iyāt Bābari, he is said to have written a history of the conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of that country," I would read, "Besides writing a history of the conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of that country, he also translated, in whole or in

* The description is corrected by Dr. Ethé in the preliminary list of Addenda and Corrigenda prefixed to the catalogue.

† See Rieu, l.c. 220*b*, last line.

part, the Wāq'iyāt-i-Bābarī."* If it be said that in the copies of Shaikh Zain's paraphrase in our European libraries there is no account of the wonders of India, my answer is that in a copy of that work in the Nawāb of Rampore's library I saw an account of the vegetable and animal productions of India, which appeared to agree generally with that in Bābar's Memoirs.

In conclusion, I beg to express an earnest hope that some scholar more competent than myself will visit Alwar and examine the seals and the colophon. This is the only way in which the question can be settled.

COPY OF THE COLOPHON IN THE ALWAR MANUSCRIPT OF BĀBAR'S MEMOIRS.

† هدا كتاب المسمّي به ترك واقعات
بابري بحسن فرمان واجب الاذعان
شاهزاده عالم و عالميان مرسدزاده
جهان و جهانيان محمد همايون طلع
الله نير اقباله و سوكنه في يوم سلخ
من شهر جمادي الثاني سنه سبع و ثلثون
و تسع مية من الهجره بفضل و حسن توفيق
سده العبد الضعيف علي الكاتب
عفر الله ذنوبه به صورت اتمام و
طريق اختتام يافت

TRANSLATION OF THE COLOPHON.

This book, called in Turkī "Wāqiyāt-i-Bābarī," was, under the supreme behests of Muḥammad Humāyūn, the son of a king and the son of a teacher—may God illuminate his fortune and glory—by God's help completed on the last day of the Jumādi-aṯ-ṯāna in Ḥijra year 937 [February 17, 1531] by 'Alī-al-Kātib, that weak slave whose trespasses may God forgive.

* In Sprenger's Catalogue of the Elliot MSS., J. A. S. B., vol. xxiii., p. 241, there is an entry of a MS. called the Ṯāba qāt Bābari, and it is described as "A History of Bābar by Zain Khawāfy, who says that 'he had written in Persian what the emperor dictated in Turki. It may be a translation of the Waq'iāt.'" This copy belonged to a friend of Sayīd Jān of Cawnpore, and is described as a very old copy. It is not in the Museum, probably because it was not Elliot's property. The B. M. copy is another Elliot MS., and dated 998. Evidently the Cawnpore copy contained much more than either of the B. M. MSS., Add. 26,602, and Or. 1999, for it was three times as large, consisting of 326 pages of 15 lines, against 102 pages of 15 lines of the Or. 1999.

† Instead of the now usual هذا the manuscript has هدا, hadā.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

By Prof. Dr. Edward Montet.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Although it is not our custom to include in our Reports necrological notices, yet we may in the present case make an exception. Our readers will at once understand our reasons for doing so. Our desire is to say a few words with respect to two persons who, under different titles, are connected with Orientalism.

First, we wish to mention the missionary Faber, who died last year in China, and about whom the *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* had, in 1899 and 1900, several articles. Faber, who was of Swiss nationality, has published in Chinese several important works, both from a missionary as well as from a more general point of view of civilization. Faber was a distinguished sinologue. Amongst the works which he wrote may be mentioned, "La Chine à la lumière de l'histoire," "Les mœurs et usages des Chinois," extracts of the Chinese classics, etc. He had also undertaken a new translation of the Bible in Chinese. He was a member of the Société Générale des Missions Evangéliques, a society founded in Switzerland by Liberal Protestants (Unitarians), which in its early days had its centre at Zurich, afterwards at Berlin, and since then a large number have joined it. The second is Devéria, who was also a sinologue. He died last year, and Mr. E. Chavannes in the *Journal Asiatique* (November-December, 1899) has a short notice of him. Devéria wrote some important works, which we noticed at the time of publication, on the origin of Islamism in China, and on Chinese Mussulmans and Manicheans. Death has, unfortunately, prevented him from continuing these works, and from what we learn recently from Paris, in the papers which he has left there is nothing relating to these subjects. This is to be regretted.

The subject of the Manicheans has been discussed from a different standpoint by Clermont Ganneau, in the *Journal Asiatique* (January-February, 1900), in an article entitled "Empédocle, les Manichéens et les Cathares." The Syriac work "Le Livre des Scholies," written in the ninth, or perhaps in the eighth century, by the Nestorian Theodore bar Khouni, in referring to the origin of Manicheism, speaks of a precursor of Manes. This precursor is a heresiarch, whom the Syriac author names Sqounthianous, and who is no other than the Σκυθιανός of Epiphany. This Scythianos had studied both Greek and Egyptian literature, as well as the writings of Pythagoras, and a philosopher whom the Syriac author calls *Proclus*, who appears to have been, according to the interesting and learned dissertation of Clermont Ganneau, Empédocle. We recommend the perusal of this

memoir to those whose inquiries are directed towards the historical and religious problem of Manicheism.

We find in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins* (vol. xxiv., part 3, 1900), an interesting study of Fries, on the most recent researches relative to the origin of the Phœnician alphabet. It appears to be well established that the Phœnician alphabet was derived from hieroglyphics through the medium of hieratics. This is the result of the labours of de Rouge. Taking as a basis several recent publications (Evans, Kluge, etc.), Fries considers it very likely that the Phœnicians (Canaanites and Hebrews) understood the signs of the writing called Mycenian Crete, Cyprus, etc., and that the Phœnician alphabet is derived from this writing. As for the names of the letters of the alphabet, which have been taken from the so-called primitive signs of the cuneiform writing, it would take too long to discuss them here. As a rare case, the author recalls to mind an amusing hypothesis of Seyffarth. According to this writer, Noah, on the 7th September of the year 3446, whilst leaving the Ark, read in the sky the original alphabet composed of twelve signs (consonants) of the Zodiac, and the seven signs (vowels) formed by the place occupied by the seven planets.

THE OLD TESTAMENT—HEBREW RABBINICAL LANGUAGES, SYRIAC.

In the first place we have to point out a collection of various works relating to the Old Testament by Stade,* the Messianic expectation in Psalms, the sources of the theology of the Old Testament, the origin and growth of the people of Israel, the people of Javan, the text of the account of Solomon's buildings, fragments concerning criticism of the Pentateuch (the mark of Cain, the tower of Babel, the offering of jealousy, and the bitter water of malediction, Numbers v. 11-31). These memoirs have appeared separately at different times. The reader would be fortunate if he found them collected in one volume.

Budde has published in the *American Journal of Theology* (1899) a paper of great interest under the title of the so-called "Ebed-Yahweh Songs," and the term "Servant of Yahweh," in Isaiah, chapters xl.-lv. In this work the author reasonably maintains the general interpretation of the "Ebed-Yahweh Songs," and ascribes them to Deutero-Esaie. He also considers that nowhere in these passages is the "Servant of Yahweh" distinguished from the rest of the people.

The close relationship which exists between the Old and the New Testaments has been again examined by Hühn in a work on the quotations and reminiscences of the Old Testament in the New.† The author has taken as a basis the text of the New Testament by Westcott-Hort, and that of the translation of the Septuagint by Swete.

Rabbiner has published the first part of an essay which is interesting, notwithstanding its defects and imperfections, on the Hebraic synonyms in the Talmud and the Midrash.‡

* "Ausgewahlte akad. Reden und Abhandlungen." Giessen, J. Ricker, 1899.

† "Die alttest. Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente." Tubingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1900.

‡ "Beitrage zur hebraischen Synonymik in Talmud und Midrasch." 1 Theil. Berlin, J. Kauffmann, 1899.

Gaster has published, with an introduction, critical notes, index and facsimile, and under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society a translation of the "Chronicles of Jerahmeel,"* or the first part of the work of Eleasar the Levite, a German Jew of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. This chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the death of Judas Maccabeus. The work of Eleasar is a vast compilation, having for its base (in the part published) another compilation by a certain Jerahmeel, who himself utilized and copied a large number of documents, amongst others the "Josippon."

We have to notice among the Syriac publications "The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ," Syriac texts, edited, with English translations, by Wallis Budge.†

The Arabic Language.

We have to announce the publication, in Arabic, of the 29th part of the grammar by Sîbawaihi, translated and explained by Jahn.‡ It is so long since the previous number appeared that we may well be permitted to inquire if the work will ever be completed. It has been in course of publication since 1895.

The *Journal Asiatique*, in its January-February number, 1900, contains an extremely interesting fragment of De Goeje on "Unknown Morocco," by Mouliéras, of which we treated at length in our Report of July, 1899.§ The work of Mouliéras is too important for us not to repeat the following passage in the article by De Goeje: "I can produce two arguments in favour of the dervish Muhammad ben at-Tayyib (from whose narratives Mouliéras has written his book). It seems almost incredible that this man, after a very protracted expedition without following any itinerary, and without taking the smallest note, has been able to give a satisfactory description of all these tribes. And notwithstanding in 1885 an Arab scholar named Seyid Othmân, for a long time a resident in Batavia, has written an account of Hadhramaut, his native country, which he had not visited for many years, and of which the precise truthfulness in regard to the most important points has been proved. In 1886 Mr. van den Berg published in his book, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'archipel indien," a description of Hadhramaut based solely on information which the Arabs domiciled in the Netherland Colonies had furnished him, and many of whom appeared to have possessed a most remarkable topographical knowledge of their country. My second argument in favour of the dervish is, that these narratives are sealed, so to say, with the seal of sincerity."

We also announce an interesting innovation in the programme of the

* "The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, or, the Hebrew Bible Historiale." Translated for the first time from a unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library. London, 1899. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, IV.) See our notice of this work, October, 1899, pp. 436, 437.

† 2 vols., London, Luzac and Co., 1899.

‡ Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900.

§ *Vide* pp. 139-141.

University of Vienna. In the summer months of 1900, Wahrmund, the Professor of Arabic, will hold a course of two hours a week on "Arabic journals." Journalism in the Arabic language, indeed, is becoming more and more important. This we can prove, as we have before us several journals and reviews of Egypt and Syria, in particular the *Al-Hilal* of Cairo, a fortnightly scientific and literary Arabic review, and many others.

A work, which is not without interest, on Islam and Christianity in Central Africa, by Forget,* has appeared as a thesis at the Faculté de Théologie Protestante of Paris. Unfortunately the author knows the subject and bibliography but very imperfectly, and, worst of all, he has not entered into the spirit of Islam.

In conclusion, we have to mention the publication of the first part (Arabic text) of the Kitâb al-mahâsin wal-mas.wi of Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-baihaqi, edited by Schwally.†

* Cahors, Coueslant, 1900.

† Giessen, Ricker, 1900.

DESCENDANTS OF OLIVER CROMWELL IN CALCUTTA.—PART II.*

BY C. R. WILSON, M.A.,
Principal of Patna College.

GOVERNOR HENRY FRANKLAND AND SIR FRANCIS RUSSELL.

1. BESIDES John Russell, two other descendants of Cromwell in Calcutta, grandsons of his daughter Frances, Governor Henry Frankland and Sir Francis Russell, demand a more than passing notice.

A.—HENRY FRANKLAND, GOVERNOR OF CALCUTTA, 1726-1728.

2. Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, in Yorkshire, the head of the ancient Frankland family in the seventeenth century, was created a Baronet by Charles II. at the Restoration in 1660. His eldest son, Thomas, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Russell and Lady Frances, and sister of Governor John Russell of Calcutta. They had numerous children, of whom Henry Frankland, their fourth son, was born in the year 1684. At the end of the year 1707, he was elected a factor in the service of the East India Company, and arrived in Bengal on January 14, 1709. He did not remain long in Calcutta; but was sent, at the end of March, to Patna, where he remained more than four years, making good use of the opportunities afforded by that station for learning the language and the political methods of the country. At the end of the year 1713, he returned to Calcutta, having been appointed ninth member of the Council.

3. At the beginning of the next year, the Council at Calcutta took into its serious consideration the constitution of the embassy, which it was intended to send to Delhi to

* Part I., April, 1900, pp. 360-372.

represent the grievances of the English throughout India. The matter had hung fire for many years, owing to various causes too tedious to relate, and had only reached the stage of practical politics with the establishment of Farrukhsiyar as Emperor of Hindustan. A minority in the Council wished to place Frankland at the head of the embassy, not only on account of his high character and acknowledged ability, but especially because he was one of the few Englishmen in Bengal who had a good knowledge of Hindustani. But the majority in the Council objected to his appointment for the curious reason that he was too good, and made John Surman "chief of the negotiation" instead. They contended that any embassy to the Mogul Court would be exposed to great indignities, to which a man of Frankland's position could not submit. "Whoever the great Mogul is pleased to honour with leave to appear in his presence," they said, "will, after he is disarmed, be admitted into a courtyard, where he must stand exposed to the weather, whatever it may happen to be, at the appointed distance, which will be out of hearing a word the King shall speak; who, looking out at a window a story high in his palace, every man in sight of him must stand with his arms a little crossing on his stomach, and his toes close together, without presuming to look up. When the King goes from his window, a curtain is let fall, and every man in the courtyard shuffles away without observing any order. This is a short account of the reception the King will give; but his Ministers generally admit foreigners to sit cross-legged in their presence and talk to them, but scarcely of their business, for that must be treated by means of their under-officers." Such is the official reason assigned for not putting Frankland at the head of the embassy; but there were doubtless private considerations also at work. Surman was unmarried and had no ties; but Henry Frankland, though still single, was engaged, and expected to be married in less than two months. So John Surman, only yesterday a writer and the son of a coach-builder, was

sent to the Court of the Mogul to win a name in the history of British India; and Henry Frankland, ninth in the Council, and great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, because of his dignity and honour, remained to help in keeping shop at Calcutta.

4. On February 25, 1714, Frankland married Mary, the daughter of Alexander Cross, a Bengal merchant. In 1715, he became eighth in Council and Secretary; in 1716, seventh and Collector of Calcutta; in 1717, sixth and Paymaster. During these years two children were born to Henry and Mary Frankland--Charles Henry, baptized on June 6, 1716, and Harriot, baptized on June 13, 1717. Meanwhile their father had amassed a large fortune, and wished to return to England. In those days furlough was unknown, so on January 19, 1719, Frankland resigned the Company's service. In the same month, he sailed for England on the *Grantham* with all his family and a Eurasian nurse, Diana, who looked after the two children.

5. Some time soon after his arrival in England, Frankland must have purchased from Sir Willoughby Hickman the estate of Mattersea in Nottinghamshire, and here for a few years he settled down. But, like many other Anglo-Indians, he must have soon begun to feel a strong desire to return to India, for, in 1722, both Henry Frankland and John Surman were readmitted to the service of the Company, and were appointed respectively third and fourth in the Council of Bengal. Henry Frankland sailed on the *Devonshire*, having with him his youngest brother, Robert, who went out as a free merchant, and arrived in Calcutta at the beginning of August.

6. At the beginning of 1723, he was, at his own request, sent to Cassimbazar to be chief of the English factory there. Cassimbazar, being close to Murshidabad, the seat of the Government of Bengal, the English Agent at that factory was brought into close diplomatic relations with the Nabob, and the position was consequently regarded as second only to the governorship of Calcutta. For this im-

portant post no better man could have been appointed than Henry Frankland; for his command of the language and his good breeding made him a *persona grata* with Murshid Quli Khan, and were of great advantage to the cause of the English. Though not always able to check the progress of rival commercial enterprises, he was yet able through his influence to advance and extend the operations of his own Company. Factories were re-established at Dacca and Maldah, and excellent relations maintained with the Country Powers.

At the end of the year 1725, in view of the impending vacancy of the governorship of Fort William, Frankland returned to Calcutta. Before leaving Cassimbazar he asked for an interview with the Nabob; but Murshid Quli Khan was extremely ill, and, in fact, not far off his death. The old man could only send a message to say that "as he had always been, so he should always continue to be a friend to the English."

7. On Sunday, January 30, John Deane, Esq., President for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, having their liberty to return to England, took his passage on the *Eyles*, and in pursuance of their orders delivered up their cash and all under his charge to Henry Frankland, Esq., appointed to succeed him, and the balance of the cash account, amounting to Rs. 150,981.4.6, together with all the royal firmans, papers, etc., were delivered over to the new Governor.

One of the earliest measures carried out by Frankland as Governor is characteristic of his friendliness towards the Country Powers. The abuse of *dastaks*, or the passes which were granted by the English to secure the free passage of their merchandise through the country, which many years later led to the Patna massacre and the war with Mir Kasim, was already a subject of complaint at Murshidabad. In order to prevent "this most pernicious evil," it was again ordered by the Council that no *dastaks*

should be granted except for *bonâ-fide* Englishmen's merchandise, and for the better enforcement of this regulation it was ordered that an exact account should be taken of the different sorts of goods for which *dastaks* were given; that all such goods should be landed at the Company's warehouse, and not removed from thence on any pretence whatsoever without the permission of the Governor; and that all goods brought into the warehouse should be on their arrival entered into a book kept by the warehouse-keeper for that purpose. These orders were effectual just so long as Governors and Councils were vigilant and in earnest.

8. But the most important question with which Frankland had at this time to deal was the question known as the "Ostenders." For some ten years past, the merchants of the Austrian Netherlands had made more than one successful venture with ships fitted out for Bengal, and had become anxious to claim a share in the commerce of the East. In 1724, on applying to the Government of Murshidabad and to the Court of Vienna, Murshid Quli Khan assigned them the village of Bankibazar,* fifteen miles above Calcutta, for a factory, and the Emperor granted them his letters patent authorizing them to trade to the East Indies under the denomination of the "Ostend Company." This Company, as Sir William Hunter has pointed out, was by no means the insignificant corporation described by Carlyle, which merely "had the honour to be." It set to work with vigour to establish itself in Bengal, where it undersold the other Europeans, and consequently rose quickly in estimation. In two years the mud-huts at Bankibazar became brick houses, and the factory was fortified with walls and bastions, and a deep dock opened into the river for ships and sloops of considerable burden. In 1727, the jealous protests of the

* "Banke," apparently means "fair"; thus the correct spelling of the name of this place would be Bankebazar, which means "Fairmarket," and similarly Bankepur, near Patna, means "Fairborough."

English, French, and Dutch compelled the Emperor to withdraw his charter; but the Ostend Agent in Bengal refused to abandon his post, and secretly furnished cargoes to ships sent by private merchants from the Austrian Netherlands. Frankland was called upon to do his utmost to stamp out the Ostenders, and, from the letters to the secret committee which still remain, he appears to have done his best. At the beginning of 1727, a joint letter from Henry Frankland and Edward Stevenson* details the various measures that had been taken. "Your Honours," they say, "may be pleased to observe that we have not been wanting in our duty to impede and intercept the affairs of these interlopers. You will find that by the large sums they offered to the Nabob they were very near obtaining what privileges and grants they requested. We wrote several letters to the officers at the *durbar* to prevent their having any footing in Bengal. We gave orders to our chief there to concert with the Dutch chief the most proper measures that could be taken to prevent what we terribly apprehended they would (by the large sums of money they offered) have obtained. It was with unspeakable pleasure that we got their affairs to be left to the management and direction of the Hugli Governor. As soon as this was effected, we sent our *vakil* to him, and obtained his promise not to conclude anything in favour of the Ostenders, till he should come down to his Government here. . . . Rather than have these interlopers have any footing or trade in Bengal, we have exerted ourselves to the very utmost of what your Honours have ordered. The seizing Mr. Humes, which we have endeavoured several times, would not have overset their affairs: for though he is their chief, and has the management of their whole business, yet the second and several other Germans would be able to carry it on, though perhaps not so well. What we have done we hope your Honours will approve of, and we do entirely depend on the power of that indemnification given to your Honours

* The second in the Council.

by the Court of Directors, whereby you are pleased to indemnify us in whatsoever we have done or shall do on this emergent occasion. We have gone some lengths that are not so proper to be committed to black and white. We therefore refer your Honours to Mr. Falconer, who, as he has himself been aiding and assisting in this grand affair, will do us the justice to acquaint you how zealous we have been in serving the Honourable Company."

The crisis of the struggle with the Ostenders did not come till 1730, when the English and the Dutch determined to strike a vigorous blow. A squadron was fitted out under Captain Gosfright, who sailed up the Hugli and placed the river under blockade. Of the two Ostend ships in the river, one was seized, but the other escaped to Bankibazar, where it was protected by the guns of the factory. Foiled in their efforts to destroy the Ostenders from the river, the English, by exaggerating the strength of the fortifications at Bankibazar, induced the Nabob to attack the place by land. In 1733, a considerable force was despatched from Hugli under Mir Jafar, who besieged the fort. The garrison defended themselves bravely, and, even when reduced to fourteen men, held the Indian troops at bay. It was not till the Agent had lost his right arm, and was no longer able to fight, that he and his men withdrew by night in a ship, leaving the victors nothing but bare walls and a few cannon.

9. Henry Frankland did not live to witness the crisis of the struggle with the Ostenders. A brief illness of twelve days cut short his government in the year 1728. He died at one o'clock in the morning of Friday, August 23, and was buried in Calcutta the same day. At the beginning of the year 1729, Mrs. Frankland and her family sailed for England on the *Walpole*.

Of the seven children* left by Henry Frankland, the

* They were: (1) Charles Henry, baptized June 8, 1716; (2) Harriot, baptized June 13, 1717; (3) Thomas, died at Bath, November 21, 1784; (4) William, born in 1721; (5) Richard, who died young; (6) Robert, baptized September 27, 1726; (7) Frederick, baptized August 13, 1727.

eldest, Charles Henry, was but a boy of twelve at the time of his father's death. As the heir not only of his father's property, but also of the baronetcy and estates of Thirkleby, he was educated with considerable care, and his career has been made the subject of a memoir by Elias Nason, of Albany, New York. Sir Charles Henry Frankland was for many years Collector of the Port of Boston in America, after which he was for many years more Consul-General in Portugal. During the great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, he lay buried for upwards of an hour beneath a mass of ruins, but fortunately escaped with his life. He died on January 11, 1768, and was buried in the church of Weston, near Bath, where his monument may still be seen.*

B.—Sir Francis Russell, Chief at Cassimbazar, 1728–1731 and 1741–1743.

10. The story of Sir Francis Russell takes us to the eldest branch of the family that descended from Sir John Russell and the Lady Frances. Their eldest son William, born in 1658, succeeded his father as fifth Baronet, but does not seem to have added to the fortunes of the family, for it is recorded in the pedigree that he sold the family estates of Chippenham. He married Catherine Gore, and died in 1707, leaving two sons—William, who became sixth Baronet,† and Francis, born about 1697, who entered the service of the East India Company.

* The inscription runs as follows:

"To the memory of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, of Thirkleby in the County of York, Baronet, Consul-General for many years at Lisbon, from whence he came in hopes of recovery from a bad state of health at Bath, where after a tedious and painful illness, which he sustained with patience and resignation becoming a Christian, he died 11th January, 1768, in the 52nd year of his life, without issue, and at his own request lies buried in the Church.

"This monument is erected by his affectionate widow Agnes, Lady Frankland."

† Sir William, the first Baronet, had two sons, Francis and William, both of them Baronets. If both these sons are counted, Sir John Russell, who married Frances, is the fourth Baronet in the family, and this William

11. Arriving in Bengal as a writer on the *Grantham* in 1716, Frank Russell spent the whole of the early portion of his service at Cassimbazar. On February 15, 1728, when second of the Council of that place, he married, at Calcutta, Ann, daughter of Zechariah Gee, a Bengal merchant, by whom he had one son, William. In August of the same year, owing to the changes which took place on the death of his cousin, Henry Frankland, he became Chief of the factory at Cassimbazar. Three years later it was resolved that Frank Russell should be taken into the Council, and on September 27, 1731, he took his seat at the Board in Calcutta. During the next ten years he gradually rose to the second place in the Council.

12. A number of his letters written at this time to his friends in England are still preserved, and would doubtless afford interesting lights as to the condition of Calcutta in the first half of the eighteenth century. One letter to his cousin, Colonel Charles Russell, dated December 31, 1737, gives us the only authentic account extant of the great storm which occurred at Calcutta on September 30 in that year. He speaks of that night as an unparalleled scene of horror, the wind and the rain being so furious that he expected every moment that the house* he lived in, the strongest in the town, would have fallen on his head. The noise abovestairs was so violent that he and his family were obliged to remain below till the morning with a neighbour and her children, who had fled to his house for refuge, the doors and windows of hers being burst from the walls. "But, good God!" he continues, "what a sight was the town and the river in the morning! Not a ship but the *Duke of Dorset* to be seen in the river, where the evening before was above twenty-nine sails of vessels, great and

is the sixth. In most of the pedigrees, however, the second William is not counted, and thus Sir John becomes the third Baronet, and this William the fifth.

* This may be identified with Lady Russell's house, shown in Wells' map of Calcutta at the south-east corner of the green before the fort. It is probably still standing in Mission Row.

small, many being drove ashore, some broke to pieces and others foundered. . . . There was no ebb tide for twenty-four hours. Our church-steeple was blown down, as also eight or ten English houses, and numbers belonging to the black merchants. The whole town looked like a place that had been bombarded by an enemy. Such a havoc did it make that it is impossible to find words to express it, all our beautiful shady roads laid bare, which will not be the like again this twenty years.* . . . I saved all my fine trees in the country that were blown down by replacing them while the earth was soft, as they might have done by those on the roads."

13. In March, 1739, Frank Russell learnt the death of his brother William, at Waterford, in May, 1738, in consequence of which he became seventh Baronet.† This change in his position does not seem to have excited in him any desire to leave the service of the Company and return to England. On the contrary, in 1741, he went back to Cassimbazar as chief of the factory. At the beginning of 1743, being seriously ill, he called in the services of the Company's famous surgeon, Holwell,‡ but not getting better came down to Calcutta, where he arrived on February 24. He intended to go to Ballasore for a short sea-voyage, but died on the morning of February 26, 1743. As he left no will, and Dame Russell declined to act, the Mayor's Court at Calcutta appointed four administrators for the deceased Baronet's estate—Solomon Margas, William Young, John Zephaniah Holwell, and William Weston, the Court Registrar. Sir Francis was succeeded in the baronetcy by his son Sir William, who was a Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of

* I think there can be little doubt that the great storm was a cyclone, or possibly a tornado, which passed over Calcutta. The description would do quite well for Dacca after the tornado of 1889. It literally looked as if it had been severely bombarded, every tree and every building having been demolished that lay in the track of the whirlwind.

† Or sixth according to the other way of counting.

‡ Holwell's fee for this was Rs. 300.

the Guards; but he died unmarried in 1757, and the baronetcy descended to his second cousin, Sir John Russell, the grandson of Governor John Russell.

Anne, Lady Russell, on November 30, 1744, married a second husband, a Mr. Thomas Holmes, merchant, and continued to live in Calcutta in her house at the south-east corner of the green before the fort. She must have witnessed the taking of the settlement by Siraj-ud-Daulah in June, 1756. She died a few months later, probably at Fulta, where the English had taken refuge. Her will is dated August 24, 1756, and was proved in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta in 1757. It is sealed with the arms of Russell: in chief, three escallops; in base, a lion rampant.*

14. The story of these descendants of Oliver Cromwell in Calcutta is not, I think, without a certain general interest, as showing that, even in these early days, the service of the East India Company was by no means so unpromising that only very poor or very impossible boys were consigned to it. On the contrary, we see a man of Sir Francis Russell's rank coming out young, and voluntarily staying on in Bengal for twenty-seven years, even after he had succeeded to a baronetcy. And rightly so, for it does not appear that the members of the family who remained in England did more to enrich or perpetuate the family than those who came to India. In fact, they did much less. Three or four times in the story of the family we find the elder English branch dying out, and the title and property reverting to the younger Indian branch. Thus, in 1738, the elder brother William dies without issue, and the title goes to his brother in India and his brother's son. In 1757, that brother's son, having settled in England, dies without issue, and the title passes to the grandson of Governor John Russell, the youngest of the sons of

* I am indebted to the Rev. H. B. Hyde, Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Madras, for this information. He gives the arms as: in chief, three double trefoils; but Lipscomb in his "History of Buckinghamshire" says they are escallops.

Frances who came out to India. Sir John Russell settles in England, transmits the title to his two sons, both of whom die without issue, and the property, without the title, reverts to the children of Elizabeth, the daughter of Governor John Russell, who had returned to India and married Samuel Greenhill. In the same way the Frankland baronetcy, after remaining in the English branch of the family for one generation, in the second generation passes to the Indian branch of the family, the children of Governor Henry Frankland. The Indian members of the family, in fact, found themselves in much easier circumstances than their English cousins; hence, while the latter married late or not at all, the former married early and left their names and fortunes to their heirs.

CONTRIBUTION OF JAINISM TO PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY, AND PROGRESS.*

By Virchand R. Gandhi.

A Hindu story-teller tells us that once upon a time in India, four friends, a sculptor, a painter, a weaver and a Brahman, decided to travel from place to place and see the country. In the absence of railways and stage-coaches, they travelled on foot. After passing through a thick forest, when night fell, they halted under a tree on the banks of a river. Life and property not being secure, they decided that each one of them should, for three hours, keep watch. First came the turn of the sculptor. To while away his time, he fetched a huge piece of wood which he saw at a distance and made a statue of it. At the end of three hours he retired. It was the painter's turn now to keep watch. He saw the statue and painted it. Next the weaver got up, who made a beautiful garment and dressed the statue. Lastly, the Brahman's turn came. He looked at the statue, which was of a woman, beautifully painted and dressed, and thought that without life it was not of much use. So with his knowledge of magic and mysticism, he introduced life into it. At daybreak there stood before them a beautiful woman. Each one claimed the sole credit of making her. They quarrelled and quarrelled until they came to the conclusion that each one had contributed his share in the production of the woman.

We see the same spectacle in the religious and philosophical world, each system claiming the sole credit of having given to the world the whole truth. Bearing the moral of the story in mind, I have chosen as the subject, "Contribution of Jainism to Philosophy, History, and Progress."

"Jain" (properly speaking, "Jaina") means a follower of Jina, which is a generic term applied to those persons (men and women) who conquer their lower nature (passion,

* For discussion on this paper, see "Proceedings of the East India Association."

hatred and the like) and bring into prominence the highest. There lived many such Jinas in the past and many will doubtless yet be born. Of such Jinas those who become spiritual heads and regenerators of the community are called Arhats (the deserving ones), or Tirthankaras (bridge-makers in the figurative sense—that is, those by the practice of whose teaching we can cross the ocean of mundane life and reach the perfect state). Hence the Jains are also called Ârhatas. In each half-cycle of many millions of years twenty-four Arhats are born. In the present half-cycle the last Arhat, Mahâvira, was born in 598 B.C., in Kundagrâma, in the territory of Videha. He lived seventy-two years and attained Moksha (liberation) in 526 B.C.

When European scholars first began to investigate the history of Jainism, they were struck with the similarities between its ethical code and institutions and those of Buddhism; hence they thought that Jainism must be a branch of Buddhism. But thanks to the labours of Jacobi, Buhler, and Leumann, it is now conclusively proved that Jainism is much older than Buddhism. At the advent of the Buddha the Jain sect had already attained a prominent position in the religious world of India.

We may now turn our attention to the contributions made by Jainism to Philosophy. In India, as elsewhere, philosophy became possible when the struggles for existence were followed by its enjoyment, when the spirit of conquest gave way to a life of peace and industry. The early effusions of the Aryan people, when we find them on the march of conquest of the aboriginal races of India, are invocations of prosperity on themselves and their flocks, adoration of the dawn, celebration of the struggle between the god who wields the lightning and the power of darkness, and the rendering of thanks to the heavenly beings for preservation in battle. When they settle down, we see them engaged in a high degree of reflection. Reflection is the moving spirit of philosophy. But all primitive philosophy concerns itself with searching

for the origin of the world. It postulates, after naive analysis, an original simple substance, from which it attempts to explain the multiplicity of the complex world. Philosophy in this sense assumes various forms. All of them attempt to interpret or rather formulate the law of causation and in that attempt many, fatigued after the long mental strain, stop at some one thing, element, or principle (physical or metaphysical), beyond which they have not mentally the ability to go. The Sânkhya Philosophy, for instance, tries to explain evolution and even "cosmic" consciousness, and the growth of organs, etc., as proceeding from a simple substance call Prakriti, or primordial matter. Orthodox philosophical systems of India—that is, those based on the Vedas and the Upanishads—adopt either the theory of creation, or of evolution, or of illusion to explain the origin of the world. Whatever theory they resort to, a simple substance or substances, intelligent or unintelligent, is or are postulated as the origin or cause of whatever there exists. Of the primal substance or substances there is no cause or origin. Early Greek philosophers—Thales and others—considered the riddle of existence solved when the original material had been stated, out of the modifications of which all things consist. How the original simple substance converted itself into complex substances no philosopher explains. The Jain position in this matter being peculiar, it will be necessary to take a more extended survey of philosophy.

One of the functions of philosophy is to advance from the known to the unknown. The procedures adopted are two—induction and deduction. The inductive process is understood as that by which a general law is inferred from particular facts; the deductive process as that by which a particular fact is inferred from a general law which is assumed to be universally true. Smith, Scott, Williams and others died in the past, therefore all men are mortal; this is induction. All men are mortal; Wilson is a man; therefore Wilson will die. This is deduction. Analyzing closely

these two processes, we find that in neither is there any addition of knowledge. The results are only inferences. In some cases it is mere tautology. We are not under the present development of our nature able to observe all facts; hence the induction is only a working hypothesis at the best. If we happen to meet a single exception, we have to modify the conclusion. In deduction, if the general law is found inapplicable to a particular case, we are obliged to grant that there is an additional factor in that case which does not come under the general law. So that in both processes the results have to be verified by actual experience. By themselves they are not a permanent test. They are not always a correct measure of truth.

In the view of Jain philosophy, the measure of truth is Samyag-jnâna, that is, knowledge purged of all infatuating elements. The constitution of man is such that as soon as he removes moral vices, his intellective processes flow into a pure channel. I may add that knowledge as knowledge or morality as morality is not the ideal of the Jains. In fact, some kind of action always goes with every form of knowledge. We never meet with knowledge without action, or action without knowledge. True advancement consists in both being right and consistent.

Coming back to the question of the first beginnings of philosophy, we saw that primitive systems, in search of reality, are satisfied when they postulate a simple substance for the explanation of the complexity of the universe. This kind of reflection, though primitive, is an improvement on the spirit of conquest, devastation, and extirpation. Centuries of peace, industry, and reflection develop better culture and higher civilization. The history of all nations bears ample testimony to this fact. India is no exception to this rule. The day on which the Aryan ancestors of modern Hindus first began to reflect on the origin of the universe must be celebrated by them as a national holiday. Unfortunately, such a day cannot be fixed, and the Hindus have never had a national spirit.

In orthodox Hindu philosophy, the search for the First Cause is recommended, because it is supposed to land us in the realm of reality, the idea being that effects are unreal, and the true reality is the First Cause. "The reality which, being indescribable, is always mentioned in the Upanishads as It (Tat), is Brahman; material manifestations being but shadows of the Eternal Ens, clothed in *name* and *form* (*Mâyâ*—illusion)."* Hence, to realize that I am and always have been Brahma is the *summum bonum*. The Jain view is that the "realization" of the primal substance, out of which the universe has manifested, is no advancement or progress. The Jains are the advocates of the development theory; hence their ideal is physical, mental, moral, and spiritual perfection. The very idea of a simple substance, without qualities, character, and activities, finds no place in the Jain philosophy, and is regarded as irrelevant and illogical; a characterless cause manifesting as a qualitative effect is a misunderstanding of the law of causation. Cause and effect, substance and manifestation, noumenon and phenomenon, are really identical. Cause is a cause when it is operating, and an operating cause is itself the effect. Hydrogen and oxygen, in their ordinary condition, are not water; vibrating in a peculiar electrical way, they are not only the cause and water the effect, but water is what they are in this relation. Any object, divested of all relations, could not be called by any other name than Being or Ens. As an abstraction or generalization, the process has its use. In order to study the various aspects of things and ideas, this method of analysis is invaluable. But to call Being or "Eternal Ens" the cause, or the noumenon, or the absolute, and distinguish it from the effect, calling it the unreal, phenomenon, or relative, is pseudo-analysis. The Jain process of acquiring knowledge may be described as follows: First, there is the indefinite cognition as an isolated object or idea; it is the state of the mind prior to analysis, that condition of things

* M. N. Dvivedi, 'Monism or Advaitism?'

to which analysis is to be applied. This is what is really meant by unity, or identity, of the universe with the real which many philosophers proclaim. It makes no difference whether this unity or identity finds its home in a sensuous object or a subjective idea, the process is the same. Next comes analysis—the dissolving, separating, or differencing of the parts, elements, properties, or aspects. Last comes the synthesis, which is putting together the primitive indefinite cognition—synstatis—with the subsequent analysis. so that the primitive cognition shall not be a complete annihilation or disappearance by the condensation of all differences, and so that, on the other hand, the analysis shall not be an absolute diffusiveness, isolation, or abstraction, destructive of all unity which is not the primitive unity but the relational unity of a variety of aspects. The analytical method is known in the Jain literature as Naya-vâda (consideration of aspects). The synthetical method is known as Syâd-vâda (doctrine of the inexpugnability of the inextricably combined properties and relations) or Anekânta-vâda (doctrine of non-isolation). Voluminous works on this subject have been written by Jain scholars, all in manuscripts still unpublished.

In illustration of what I have thus stated, I may remark that to a person in whom the first germ of reflection is just born the universe is a vague something, an utter mystery —at the most, a unity without differentiation ; analysis leads him to consider its various aspects. He is struck with the change he sees everywhere. The constantly - running waters of rivers, decaying plants and vegetables, dying animals and human beings, strongly impress him that nothing is permanent. His first generalization, therefore, will be that the world is transitory. After years of research and reflection, he may learn that the things that pass away still exist in an altered condition somewhere. He may now generalize that nothing is annihilated ; that, notwithstanding the changes that are visible everywhere, the world, taken as a whole, is permanent. Both generalizations are

true from different points of view; each by itself is an abstraction. When he learns to synthesize, he puts together the various aspects he has found of the world, and realizes that the integrality of truth consists in the indissoluble combination of all the possible aspects. The inherence of contrary aspects in a single idea or object seems impossible to the unsynthetic mind. Sankara, the well-known Vedânta scholar, has fallen into a great error when he states that the Jain doctrine should not be accepted, because "it is impossible that contradictory attributes, such as being and non-being, should, at the same time, belong to one and the same thing; just as observation teaches that a thing cannot be hot and cold at the same moment." The Jains do not teach that a thing can be hot and cold at the same moment; but they do teach that a thing cannot be hot absolutely, and cannot be cold absolutely; it is hot under certain definite circumstances, and cold under others. The Jains do not teach that being and non-being (of itself) should at the same time belong to one and the same thing. What they teach is that in a thing there is being of itself, and non-being of other things, which means that a thing can be fully known only by knowing what it *is* and what it *is not*. Sankara, in fact, creates a man of straw, imputes to him imaginary doctrines, and by refuting them, he knocks him down. That is his glory.

I shall now state a few of the first principles of the Jain philosophy. Its first teaching is that the universe is not merely a congeries of substances, heaped together and set in activity by an extra-cosmic creator, but is a system by itself, governed by laws inherent in its very constitution. Law is not to be understood in the sense of a rule of action prescribed by authority, but as a proposition which expresses the constant or regular order of certain phenomena, or the constant mode of action of things or beings under certain definite circumstances. It is not a command, but a formula to which things or beings conform precisely,

and without exception under definite relations, internal and external. Jainism, therefore, is not a theistic system in the sense of belief in the existence of a God as the Creator and Ruler of the universe: and still the highest being in the Jain view is a person, and not impersonal, characterless, qualityless being. All that there is in or of the universe may be classified under two heads: (1) Sentient, animate or conscious beings (*a*, liberated beings; *b*, embodied beings); and (2) Insentient, inanimate or unconscious things or substances. There is not an inch of space in the universe where there are not innumerable minute living beings. They are smaller than the minutest things we can see with the aid of a microscope. Weapons and fire are too gross to destroy them. Their life and death depend on their vital forces, which are, of course, related to the surroundings. Clay, stones, etc., as they come fresh from the earth have life. Water, besides being the home of many living beings, is itself an assemblage of minute animate creatures. Air, fire, and even lightning have life. Strictly speaking, the physical substance of clay, water, stone, etc., is a multitude of bodies of living beings. Dry clay, dry stone, boiled water, are pure matter, and have no life. Vegetables, trees, fruits, have life. When dried or cooked there is no life in them. Worms, insects, fish, birds, animals, human beings, are all living beings. There are living beings on stars and planets, and even beyond the starry region. "Life" is only an abstraction. It is not something concrete, superadded to the constituent elements of living beings. It is a generalization, derived from our observation of the varying modes of behaviour of such living beings. The stage of actual development of one living being being different from that of another, living beings are classified in many ways in the Jain philosophy. The simplest classification is based on the number of organs of sense they have developed.

Besides the category of living beings, there is one of inanimate substances. These are matter, two kinds of ether

(one, the fulcrum of motion, the other, the fulcrum of rest) and space. We must bear in mind that ether and space are not matter in the Jain view. Matter has various qualities and relationships which the former do not possess. Time is also called a substance in a figurative sense, a generalization of the moving activities of things and beings.

Every living being, from the minutest to the highest embodied one, is the centre of innumerable potential and actual energies, which are called Karmas in the Jain philosophy. The word "Karma" has an interesting history. In the Vedas it means the performance of sacrifices, offering of oblations to nature-gods and manes of deceased ancestors. Karma-mârga—the path of works—is nothing but ritualistic Brâhmanism. In the words of Sir Monier Monier-Williams: "Not even Jewish literature contains so many words relating to sacrifice as the literature of the Brâhmans. The due presentation of sacrificial offerings formed the very kernel of all religious service. Hymn, praise and prayer, preaching, teaching, and repetition of the sacred words of Scripture were only subsidiary to this act. Every man throughout his whole life rested his whole hopes on continually offering oblations of some kind to the gods; and the burning of his body at death was held to be the last offering of himself in fire (antyeshti)." In later literature, Karma, in addition to the above meaning, also meant duty and good and bad actions. In the Jain literature we have a fuller meaning. It is any energy which an embodied being generates—be it vital, mental, or moral—and which keeps him in the mundane world—the Sansâra. Karma, in short, is the whole Sansâric make-up of an embodied being. It is entirely divested of the sacrifice idea. Karmas which keep the individual in a backward condition are known as Pâpa; those which help him in advancement are Punya. The Jain philosophy gives a detailed enumeration of Karmas, and explains how they are attracted (Àshrava), how they are assimilated with the individual (Bandha), how their inflow can be stopped

and what the ultimate state of a perfected individual is (Moksha). This particular branch of philosophy, therefore, includes topics like sensations, perceptions, consciousness, pains and pleasures, moralities of life, moral depravities, building of the bodies and all factors of the individuality. No other philosophical system in India has gone into so many details of life-building as Jainism has done. Like other systems, Jainism teaches the doctrine of rebirth, the nature of which depends on the nature of the Karmas that are just ripe to manifest themselves soon after death.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that the ideal of the Jain philosophy is the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual perfection and (after death or rebirths if necessary) attainment of perfect spiritual individuality, which does not disappear, is not dissolved, is not merged into a supreme being, is not a state of unconsciousness, but persists for ever and consists of perfected consciousness and highest rectitude. This being the goal of every living being, life in every form is highly respected by the Jains. The universe is not for man alone, but is a theatre of evolution for all living beings. Live and let live is their guiding principle. Ahimsâ paramo dharmah — Non-injury is the highest religion. Their ceremonial, worship, institutions, manners and customs (purely Jain) all rest on this grand fulcrum of Ahimsâ. Man, in his desire to continue his life forces, so that he may do the highest good while living here, is obliged to destroy life; but the less and lower form of life he destroys, the less harmful Karmas he generates. This is the basis of the strict vegetarianism of the Jains. Acting on that idea, they have built homes for maimed or old animals in many cities and towns of India, where they are fed and taken care of until they die a natural death. The preaching of that grand principle has almost entirely superseded Brahminical sacrifices of animals.

In literary activity, Jains have held a prominent position. Their scholars and philosophers have composed voluminous works on philosophy, logic, comparative religion, grammar, prosody, mathematics, lexicography, music, history, bio-

graphy, astronomy, etc., besides works on their ceremonial and ritualism. Out of the many authors, only a few need be mentioned here. Bhadrabâhu Suri composed "Niryuktis" on ten works of the Jain canon, also a work on astronomy. Devarddhi Gani, the Kshamâshramana, is the redactor of the sacred canon; 980 years after Mahâvira, the last Arhat, Devarddhi, seeing that all the canonical works were being lost in course of time, caused them to be written down. Before that time the sacred literature was handed down from master to disciple without the help of books. Siddhasena, the Divâkara, converted King Vikramâditya to Jainism, and is the author of many philosophical works. Haribhadra, a Brâhman by birth and a convert to Jainism, composed 1,444 Prakaranas (short treatises) on various subjects. Malayagiri is another well-known author. Abhayadeva wrote commentaries on nine principal canonical works. Devendra Suri wrote works on Karma, etc. Dharmasâgara contributed a work on the history and beliefs of heterodox sects. Hemachandra, the well-known encyclopædist, brought Prince Kumârapâla of Gujrat to Jainism, and is the reputed author of three crores and a half of couplets. Yasovijaya wrote many works. Muni Âtmârâm-ji, who died only four years ago, composed several works in popular style, thus bringing home the Jain philosophy to the masses.

In the literary world of India Jains justly claim the credit of accurate recording of history. Accurate chronicling of events and history-making seldom find a place in the ancient works of Hindus. Among the Jains, however, the case is different. Since the time of their first literary activity they have been recording the most important historical events of the time. Authors and commentators mention, at the end of their respective works, the names of their spiritual predecessors and the work done by them. Jain Paṭṭâvalis' lists of spiritual heads of the community, with a short sketch of their lives and description of the leading events of the time, are well-known, and are being [illegible] Oriental scholars and Professor

Bendall of London. Jacobi, Klatt, Buhler, and last but not the least my friend Professor Leumann, of the Strassburg University, have settled many points of Jain history with the aid of these Paṭṭâvalis.

The sacred libraries of Jains, established at various periods of our history for the purpose of facilitating to laymen the study of their philosophy and religion, contain thousands of manuscripts, some of which have not been allowed to be even looked at, for the reason that the Jains, not being aware of the motives of the European scholars, are still apprehensive of the consequences of Mohammedan sacrilege and destruction of everything that is holy. The libraries of Pattan, Cambay, and Jessulmir have a world-wide reputation. A portion of manuscripts, deposited in those libraries, has been catalogued by Professors Buhler, Kielhorn, Bhandarkar, and others. Distant seems to be the day when the European scholars will take an active interest in the philosophy embodied in those works. Four canonical works have been translated into English by Professor Jacobi in the "Sacred Books of the East" series. Portions of others are translated by continental Orientalists. Almost the whole canon in original, with commentaries and Gujrati translations, has been published by the late Rai Dhanapatisinh Bahadur of Murshidabad. Some later works have been published by Bhimasinh Manak, the well-known Jain publisher of Bombay, now deceased. Much still remains to be done in the way of publication.

The Jains have been a powerful and influential community in the history of India. Some of them held high positions under native and Mohammedan rule. Writing so far back as 1829, Colonel James Tod says in his "Annals of Râjasthân":

"The number and power of these sectarians (Jains) are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted that they are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark that the Pontiff of the Kharataragachchha, one of the many

branches of the faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India; that a single community, the Ossi or Oswal, numbers 100,000 families; and that more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Râjasthân and Saurâshtra are the cradles of the Jain faith, and three out of their sacred mounts, namely, Âbu, Pâlitânâ, and Girnâr, are in these countries. The officers of the State and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of justice in Udeypur and most of the towns of Râjasthân, are of this sect; and as their voluntary duties are confined to the civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood. . . . Mewar has, from the most remote period, afforded a refuge to the followers of the Jain faith, which was the religion of Valabhi, the first capital of Rânâ's ancestors, and many monuments attest the support this family has granted to its professors in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes. One of the best preserved monumental remains in India is a column most elaborately sculptured, full 70 feet in height, dedicated to Parshvanath—in Chitor. The noblest remains of sacred architecture, not in Mewar only, but throughout Western India, are Buddhist or Jain; and the many ancient cities where this religion was fostered have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the Jains bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajput society; and the privileges they still enjoy prove that they are not overlooked."

The Jains are advocates of education. Their benefactions to Western education and intellectual progress in India are well known. The University of Bombay owes to a Jain merchant the means of erecting a stately library and a grand campanile, which are among the chief ornaments of the city. The Calcutta University has received an endowment of two lacs of rupees from the same hand.

Another Jain merchant has recently bequeathed five lacs of rupees for establishing a Jain college. Female education in Gujerat depends almost entirely on Jain liberality. Many schools, libraries, and scholarships have been founded or endowed by Jains.

Being devotedly attached to the religion of their ancestors, they have built sumptuous buildings and magnificent temples, the style of which commands the applause of the best architectural critics of Europe. Their most sacred place is Mount Shatrunjay, situated near Pâlitânâ, in Kâthiâwâr. Its summits are encrusted with marble temples and cloisters, erected in the course of many centuries at the expense of Jain people. Several times in the year rich Jains convey large bodies of their co-religionists to this and other holy places for pilgrimage at their cost. Besides, Jain pilgrims singly and in large bands from all parts of India flock to these temples at all times of the year. It may be noted that Lord Reay, as Governor of Bombay, having, after careful study, settled the disputes between the Jain Community and the Chief of Pâlitânâ, fifteen years ago, an address of welcome was presented to him when he, with Lady Reay, visited that hill. That was the first official and public presentation to a British representative. In conclusion, I may observe that the present Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, in reply to an address by the Jains of Calcutta, made the following remarks :

" Among the various communities which have addressed me since my arrival in India there is none whose words of welcome awaken a more responsive echo in my breast than the Jains. I am aware of the high ideas embodied in your religion, of the scrupulous conception of humanity which you entertain, of your great mercantile influence and activity, and of the ample charities that have characterized your public and private dispensations. Previous travels in India have also familiarized me with many of your temples, in whose architectural features I have observed a refinement that reminds me of the great days of Asiatic art."

KOREA, THE PEARL OF THE ORIENT:

TRADITIONAL, HISTORICAL, DESCRIPTIVE.

By Charlotte M. Salwey, M.J.S.

Korea, or Chō-sen, the peninsula jutting out from the great Chinese Empire, and divided from Japan by the Japan Sea and Straits of Korea, is a country which is laying claims to our present interest. Since our knowledge of it as an inhabited land, it has maintained an isolated attitude towards all other nations with the exception of its three closest neighbours. Our eyes are now turned towards this interesting nation to watch the progress of its new awakened spirit, which must be full of unrest, considering the turn political events are taking in the Far Eastern regions of the globe.

Like many other countries of such an ancient foundation, Korea is inhabited by a people not aboriginal, but by invaders who conquered old settlers, and drove them forth further afield.

Dating from about the Christian era, until the early part of the sixteenth century the Koreans and Japanese kept up lively communications, sometimes helpful and peaceful, at others warlike and harassing. Frequent petty strifes are recorded in the distant annals of Japanese history, especially noted in the Nihonji and Kojiki, published in 712 A.D., the oldest books that give us information of Japanese events. Commerce and emigrants flowed from one country to the other, and the influence brought to bear upon the kingdoms of the extreme East by this, it will be seen, was of no mean importance.

The Emperor Sujin (the Civilizer) is said to have been the recipient of many beautiful presents and precious merchandise, which were safely delivered to him by many emigrants who successfully landed in the Province of Echizen between the years 97 and 30 B.C.

According to traditions, an early attempt was made to invade Korea by the Japanese, for it is stated in the books above mentioned that in 201 to 203 A.D. the Empress Jingō Kōgō headed an enterprise in person, and led her armies on to terra firma. Jingu or Jingō Kōgō, according to accounts, was the fourteenth sovereign of Japan. She reigned conjointly with her husband, Chiuai Tennō. She is said to have lived 100 years, out of which she reigned sixty-eight. Tradition tells us that this idea of conquest was suggested by the gods as a reward for her piety and devotion. The country was described to her by them as "sweet and fair as the lovely face of a virgin, dazzling bright with gold and silver and fine colours, and abounding with every kind of rich treasures." Jingō Kōgō, in her desire to accomplish this daring deed, overcame the most remarkable obstacles, and found every omen she consulted turn in her favour. Her husband, Chiuai Tennō, died while leading his armies to quell the rebellion in Kumaso that had disturbed the peace of the province, and required prompt measures to repress. His Minister, Také-no-uchi, concealed the Emperor's death from the soldiers, and thus by the aid of this faithful servant the Empress Jingō suppressed the outbreak. Flushed with the success of her arms, she longed for distant victories beyond the seas. Her enterprise was on a colossal scale. The army, headed by the Empress herself arrayed like a man, landed on Korean territory, and her ambitions were favoured on every side. It was a bloodless invasion.

In those days there were no watch-towers or search-lights, or any precautions taken to warn of the approach of the enemy from without, and isolated nations paid little attention to the possibility of complications arising through outside influences. Besides, the southern part of Korea, towards which the Empress had directed her soldiers to repair, was not only totally unprepared for this contingency, but the King was ignorant of the existence of any country outside his own. In consequence of this, he sur-

rendered immediately upon the appearance of the hostile forces. The white flag of truce was borne to the enemy's camp, and the Koreans swore henceforth to pay tribute to the Land of Sunrise. The rivers might flow backward, and the stones leap up to the stars, yet would this oath remain unbroken.

So the Empress returned in triumph to her native land, accompanied by ships heavily freighted with priceless treasures, with prisoners, and craftsmen who in course of time became valuable servants of her country. Of all the women who have ruled, or even become celebrated for deeds of daring, devotion, or self-sacrifice, Jingō Kōgō is the most beloved and venerated by this hero-loving people.

From that time to this Korea has been the connecting bridge, the highroad over which the civilizing influence of China traversed into Japan. "This conquest was of incalculable importance for the later development of Japan. The whole civilization and culture of China made their way into the Land of Sunrise, with Buddhism and the philosophy of Confucius as their vehicles, and their language, laws, and literature, the domestic animals and cultured plants, as well as their peculiar and interesting industries."

After the invasion Koreans emigrated to Japan, and became useful citizens, pursuing and teaching their crafts to the Japanese, who, with their extraordinary aptitude, soon perfected the teaching and excelled their masters. From this event also dates one of the most important experiments successfully carried through—that of rearing silkworms as a commercial speculation. This was achieved during the reign of the Emperor Nintoku (313-399 A.D.).

The prisoners brought back from Korea became sharers in the rough and hardest work of the land, assisting in the cultivation of rice and other grains, and in taking the brunt of agricultural labour. Those who refused these occupations became Etas, or wandering tribes, who were much

despised. They earned a scanty pittance by leather-dressing, skinning, and tanning, or they were called in to assist at executions and to remove the corpses. Leather was but rarely used in Japan, except for the mounting of chain armour, horse-bridles, and so forth; tough paper supplied the want of the animal substance. The modern Japanese leather papers are much admired for their beauty, durability, and other peculiarities.

The stones did not leap up to the stars, neither did the Koreans adhere faithfully to their vows, and for this cause petty warfare was occasionally waged between the two nations. Sometimes, owing to a bad harvest or other failures, they begged their tribute might be delayed, or even withheld altogether; at other times they grew lax, and did not carry through their contract, as the Japanese had a right to anticipate.

This state of things lasted more or less until the second invasion was attempted by Hidéyoshi, or Taiko Sama, as he is sometimes called. Hidéyoshi was a man of wonderful resource. Though of humble birth, he rose to great power through his ingenuity and cunning, his indomitable will and perseverance, for it was not often that men of inferior rank were chosen to receive such distinction as fell to his share. He was, however, a great patriot, and was bent on improving the condition of his country, which was during his time in a most disturbed and unsatisfactory state. The long internal warfare that had been protracted through centuries, in the struggle for the Shogunate, had thrown the land into much disorder, and his ambitions seemed to turn the tide of events into other channels. Under Hidéyoshi's guardianship arts and sciences flourished, and showed signs of promise for future development. Ships and armaments reached greater perfection than heretofore, and the name of Japan, so little known to the world at large, began to come under the notice of more distant nations. This great general was bent on the conquest of Korea for many reasons. His plan was first to impress

the Koreans, and subdue them, and afterwards by their aid and co-operation to invade China, and then finally annex the three kingdoms into one. By many writers Hidéyoshi's scheme is considered most unjust and unnecessary, and that this tremendous effort was made as much for his own glory as for the honour of his country. He never lived to carry out his strategies, neither was he able to undertake the expedition personally. His death terminated the invasion, and the army was recalled before the campaign had completed its mission. After Hidéyoshi's death, which took place at the commencement of the seventeenth century, ensued that long and glorious term of peace in Japan which lasted for more than 260 years, during which time the people directed their attention to the internal improvement of their country, shut their gates upon foreigners, excluded Christians from their shores, and governed themselves in a wonderful and successful manner. Arts flourished, and reached such a pitch of perfection that the beautiful objects produced by skilled manual labour during that epoch have become the wonder of the world, admired, coveted, and treasured by all who are fortunate enough to come across them.

Many historians discredit the invasion of Jingō Kōgō, and pronounce it purely mythical—in fact, they regard the early annals of Japanese history suspiciously up till about the beginning of the seventh century—but whether or no the invasion or raid upon Korea took place, it was at that time that many useful industries found their way into Japan. Improvement in trade and hand-made goods became noticeable, and an influence was brought to bear upon the people by strangers in their midst. Some say it was in the fifth, others in the sixth, century that Buddhism was introduced into the Land of the Rising Sun, and disseminated by the wandering and venturesome priests from China. We read through "this religious medium the highest influence upon arts was obtained, the purest forms found place among all representations of this new religion,

which extended beyond the great watery barrier formed by the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. This faith had lost none of its intensity, in that it could yet inspire so powerfully the brush of the artist." To the hard-working industrial classes, repose, rest, absorption into a higher life, after years of honest labour in this world, was a potent creed. The calm, beatified countenance of Buddha, displayed in the pictures and idols, produced upon the minds of his followers a wonderful effect, and the priests intertwined the tenets with that of the primeval religious system, in order that, without giving up the one, the new converts could embrace the other. There are two distinct teachings of Buddhism—the fierce and corrupt tenets, and the spiritual and artistic dogmas. It was towards the last that the hearts of these simple folk of the Sun Land were directed and inclined.

It is asserted that the peninsula of Korea is almost equal in size to that of Great Britain. It covers an area of 80,000 to 90,000 square miles, and its coast-line measures about 1,740 miles in length. It is a mountainous country; a chain of elevated peaks occupies a large area of the interior. This lofty chain takes in a considerable and conspicuous portion of the coast; rich forest-trees of great beauty clothe these lofty ranges. In former years these mountains formed impregnable barriers against foreign invasions, and upon them the Koreans centred all their boast against intrusion. This was in the ancient days, before the invention of gunpowder, steamships, and modern deadly weapons of warfare.

The Ever-White Mountains, which divide Korea from the vast territory of Manchuria, and, except for them, make Korea as much an island as a peninsula, are much venerated by the superstitious. Paik-tu-San, the once-burning mountain, is now a grand and speaking symbol of peace and restfulness. Where the crater of Paik-tu-San once emitted its terrible fires and destructive flow of molten lava, eternal silence reigns. The Ever-White Mountains,

the name the highest peaks have earned, is not alone derived from the snow which falls and lingers near them. The lip of the crater of Paik-tu-San is of white pumice-stone, with red veins striping it here and there, and the shape of the crest is that frequently reproduced in the frilled edged vases of Chinese manufacture. Where the crater once boiled, there is now, deep down, almost unfathomable, a beautiful still lake of water, upon whose bosom stars or sunlight seek reflection in the profundity of its blue waters.

"Legends, traditions, and geological indications lead us to believe that anciently the Chinese promontory and the Province of Shantung, together with the Korean Peninsula, were connected, and that dry land once covered the space filled by the waters joining the Gulf of Pechili and the Yellow Sea. These waters are shallow; a slight rise in the elevation would restore their area to the land-surface of the globe. The Sea of Japan is narrow, and the Straits of Korea at their greatest depth have but 83 feet of water."

Korea is rich in mineral wealth, in gems, and other valuable products. These have been sadly overlooked; the historian and explorer have left unmolested this out-of-the-way corner of the earth, and the people themselves have wanted in energy to assert their place in universal history. Dense forests of monarchical trees that line the sea-border and heighten the solemn grandeur of the rock-bound coast are part of the nation's wealth. Studying the map of Korea, it is evident that, like her neighbours on the Yalu River side of the land, the convulsions of Nature have often played sorry havoc along her sea-borders, and that "in prehistoric times huge granite protuberances have separated from the mainland, and formed rocky islands of various dimensions."

In days when steam-power was untried, when boats were of the frailest make, when all means of transit were hazardous upon those stormy waters, the Koreans thought [illegible] of dangers coming from without. Deeming their

land safe from neighbouring foes, the people living in those provinces, unaffected from the invasions of the Chinese, nurtured this belief, and found rest in ignorance.

Jules Klaproth, whose work on "the Three Kingdoms" furnishes us with the earliest knowledge, describes the Koreans as of gentle disposition, humane, and possessing but few vices, not at all harsh in their punishment of crime, only taking the lives of culprits for the murder of parents, other offences being punishable by stripes of the bamboo. The Koreans are fond of eating and drinking, and are often guilty of an excess of the latter vice. They love dancing and gentle, quiet amusement. They are plodding and patient during hours of labour, and are fond of learning. They have a vocabulary of their own, but generally employ the Chinese characters. They build palaces and vast edifices, they sacrifice to the stars and constellations, and offer propitiations to good and evil spirits and local deities.

Until quite recently the Koreans would not have recourse to human aid during illness, neither would they take any medicine. It is only since the Christian medical missionaries have entered Korea that the people have understood the virtue of drugs and the benefit of medical aid. Now, we are told by missionaries in charge that when the Koreans require physic, they like to take large quantities, a pint or so for a dose. Often a sick man's relatives will consume the nourishing food, such as beef-tea or arrowroot, not understanding the theory of feeding an invalid whether or no he is hungry. Dispensaries are now in working order. At Seoul a beautiful building has been erected, well lighted and airy, one side being entirely of glass, a luxury and rarity in Korea. In 1893, 600 patients suffering from ophthalmia, abscess, diseased teeth, fever, scrofula, eczema, and other distressing complaints, received medical attendance and successful treatment. This mission-work is bearing fruit, and gaining the confidence of these poor neglected people.

The domestic arrangements of the Koreans are of the plainest description. Their homes are small and mean, furnished after the manner of the Japanese fashion—that is to say, the floors are covered with mats—and the vessels for daily use extremely small and simple. Boiled rice, beans, fish, and a variety of fruit form their daily fare. Trading seldom, even with their nearest neighbours, they are almost entirely dependent upon the produce of their own land. A bad agricultural harvest points to certain famine for the peasants; animal food does not suggest itself as an article for general consumption. In truth, there is not much demand for domestic animals in Korea. Beasts of burden are almost unknown. With the exception of the ponies used by the military classes, and the docile bulls for the heaviest farm and other work, man is the only worker. There is no means of conveyance from one part of the country to the other; all journeys must be accomplished on foot.

Articles for daily use are fragile and inexpensive; straw sandals, an endless variety of flimsy headgear, wooden, metal, or lacquered bowls, fans of unique make and pattern, beads and feather ornaments are the most striking objects.

G. N. Curzon, in his paper on the "Strange Cities of the Far East," dwells on the subject of headgear at some length, which, owing to the manifold patterns in use among all classes, is particularized as the one subject the Koreans have thoroughly thought out and settled to their own satisfaction, a particular shape, make, and manufacture being used by the various members of the community, and appropriated for their particular individual service. The national costume is picturesque and striking—white for soldiers and adults, and pink for children. The one "improvement" that has displeased the Koreans more than any other is that since the Chino-Japanese War the Japanese have insisted upon the adult Koreans adopting a national costume of black instead of white for official service.

Paper-making was understood at a very early period. The substance employed for this purpose was from the paper mulberry and the fibre of the rice-stalk. To this day they are famed for their paper, especially for a very rough and tough kind, which forms part of the annual tribute made to Pekin. It is used for many purposes by the Chinese; among others, it forms part of the thickly wadded winter coat of the mandarins, an extra covering for windows, and even provides a soft armour, being capable of resisting a musket-shot.

After the invasion by Hidéyoshi, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the cotton-plant became extensively cultivated. This event proved a great comfort and luxury to the peasants, who were previous to this importation only able to procure garments made from long sea-grasses, or those of a woven hempen material. Silk was exclusively reserved for the use of the Court or the upper classes. Another advantage gained by the rupture between the two nations fell to the invaders' share; this was the introduction of Korean potteries into Japan. These are highly prized for their many and distinctive merits, for their originality, fine colouring, for their beautiful but simple forms, and for other technical details that place them with connoisseurs on a pedestal of excellence. Several Princes of Kiushiu, such as Satzuma and Hizen, brought back to their provinces valuable pieces of porcelain, and introduced with great success the foreign patterns, to which much attention was directed at that period. Many of the descendants of these Korean potters still live, and work at their beautiful craft; the Arita and Satzuma wares are the offspring of their labours. The talented craftsmen were encouraged by the Japanese, and invited to establish themselves and their kilns in Kioto and other towns, with a view of perpetuating and extending the Korean school of delicate ceramics. In return for all their knowledge and information, the Daimios granted the potters the privileges of Samurai; they were exalted to the rank of soldiers, and were permitted to wear

two swords, a much-coveted honour rarely extended to foreigners.

One of the chief products of Korea is Ginseng (*Panax ginseng*), called by the Japanese Nin-jin, and the Chinese Jin-san, a plant, according to Kæmpfer, that stands next in value to tea, and most highly valued throughout the breadth and length of the Orient. As a medicine it is most efficacious. The drug is obtained from its long, carrot-like root, and its virtues are equally recognised by Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese. It is supposed to work wonders, and people who take it habitually believe their lives can be prolonged far beyond the ordinary span. Dr. Rein tells us *Panax ginseng* grows wild in the mountainous districts and forest regions of Eastern Asia from Nepal to Manchuria. Korea and Japan, as well as America, import this drug into China, but that from America is of an inferior quality. *Panax ginseng* is a plant of slow growth, taking three years to attain perfection, but when once established it will thrive unaided. In appearance it resembles the wild common carrot (*Daucus carota*). The drug is obtained by plunging the root into boiling water, and scalding it, after which process it presents a jelly-like aspect. When the scalding operation is over, the root is carefully dried in a kiln; this successfully accomplished, it is ready for the market.

Korea is rich in pearls of enormous size; their value is not understood. It is a frequent occurrence to see rows of these lovely gems lavishly displayed round the hems of dresses. Fine timber is a feature in the peninsula, and there are many rare species among the forestry. It is stated that the tomb of Hidéyoshi was made of valuable wood brought over from Korea after the invasion. Fruit is plentiful; walnuts, chestnuts, and other edibles known in England are indigenous to the land. There is an abundance of wild-fowl and pheasants; also swans, geese, teal, and other game. The feathers of these winged tribes supply material for hand-made goods, feathers always being

much in request in semi-barbaric lands, a trade too widely patronized by the fashionable ladies of Western countries of late years, to the danger of the extermination of many rare ornithological species, beside being a cruel waste of harmless, inoffensive life.

It is early days, perhaps, to prophesy the future of Korea, but to foresee many events which must follow upon the opening up of the country does not require much mental effort. When the curtain is effectually lifted from this once almost-forgotten land, it will literally pass from darkness into light. There will be no dawn of civilization or slow perception of civilizing benefits. Every change will be rapid, concise, and unalterable. That the Koreans will ever again be allowed to enjoy "the dignity of isolation" is not for a moment to be entertained. During the last fifty years the enlightened nations of the earth have insisted upon cosmopolitan interchange of merchandise and manufactures, and other traits of brotherhood. When this strenuous effort has to be made, how will it fare with Korea? We were told by an eye-witness that at the commencement of the late hostilities between China and Japan the Koreans smiled, and put on their best attire in honour of the invading army, and concerned themselves but little about the presence of these strange soldiers in their midst. Of such slight importance did they consider the sudden appearance of the foreigners, that they continued their ancient custom of ringing the curfew and closing the gates of the city, in token of peace and safety, while the armies of the Japanese were comfortably ensconced within instead of without the walls.

In the future not very far off Japan will have to cast about for colonial possessions, for an outlet for her increasing population, for a wider market for her useful industries and her manufactured goods; the nearer the market, the easier the trade. These isolated countries were formerly self-supporting, producing only hand-made goods, which more or less occupied every artisan of the community,

whole families often adopting the same trade, and making their home their only workshop. These were content with low wages for high services, for hereditary customs suggested simple living, and lengthened hours of work, with a ready demand for useful and for beautiful goods at all times. When the advantages of Western civilization and the energy of their near neighbours are fully grasped, these people of the Hermit Land may awaken to the possibilities and power of progress.

From a political point of view the position of this country is most unfortunate. Korea has many enemies to contend with in the future, who are all competitors, ready to spring upon her, or upon each other; for she is confronted by Russia's immense energy on the one side, whose ambitions are on a colossal scale; by China, eager to assert her ancient claims; and by Japan, whose traditional and historical annals have so long been bound up with this Land of the Morning Calm.

Whatever fate awaits Korea, the metamorphosis this country will undergo will be far greater than any we have known in our generation. For this reason, there will be no slow growth of progress, no medieval days with enlightenment slowly penetrating through the mist of ages, and the ever-expansive power of man's inventive genius. The Koreans will have the full benefit of past experiences of the more important nations. There will be no lighting up of towns and cities with feeble oil-lamps and rush candles. The mere bridle-paths that at present lie just outside the city precincts will not ring with the sound of the stone-hewer's axe or present the inconvenience of cobble-stone footways. When highways receive attention, they will be macadamized after the latest pattern, levelled with powerful steam-rollers, and glowing at nightfall with the full radiance of electricity. In the future not very far off Korea will build dockyards and arsenals, seaworthy vessels and men-of-war. These ships will compass the seas and as year by year more treaty ports are open,

Korea must bring forth her merchandise, and compete successfully, as other nations in advance have done before. How eagerly we shall listen to those who will interpret for us the story of this hermit nation! With what intense and genuine interest shall we study for our own delight the literature, legends, arts, and labours of this Land of the Morning Calm! The love of novelty will be the stimulant. Korea of to-day is a territorial prize much coveted by enterprising nations for its position as a key to nearer Asian countries, as a coaling-station of much desirability, its supplies of this commodity being extensive and valuable. Other treasures contained within its unexplored regions have many attractions for its closest neighbours. Korea is in truth the Pearl of the Orient, which more than one monarch longs to possess, or at any rate to command the loan of, when it becomes necessary to display paramount power of an indisputable character for the maintenance of universal progress.

NOTE.—Books consulted "Corea, the Hermit Nation," by W. E. Griffis; "Industries of Japan," by Dr. Rein, "The Morning Calm," missionary publication, "Les Trois Royaumes," by Jules Klaproth, etc.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Town Hall on Monday, May 21, 1900, a paper was read by Virchand R. Gandhi, Esq., on "Contribution of Jainism to Philosophy, History and Progress." Sir Raymond West occupied the chair. The following among others were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.; Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.; Sir William Rattigan, Q.C.; Hon. J. D. Rees, C.I.E.; Lieut.-Colonel T. Warliker; Mrs. and Miss Arathoon; Mrs. F. Aublet; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. W. Coldstream; Mr. B. B. Costin; Mr. Bah Chet; Raizada Eswan Das; Mrs. Delafore; Miss Gawthrop; Miss Hertz; Mr. Shyamaji Khrishnavarma; Mr. Emlyn Lewys; Mr. Sayed Alay Mahomed, I.C.S.; Mr. V. J. Modi; Mr. J. B. Pennington; Mr. H. Prince, F.R.G.S.; Mr. Alexander Rogers; Mr. R. P. Roy; Mr. Kanwar Sain; The Misses Snitko; Mr. M. E. Tatham; Mr. W. T. Turton; Miss Webster; Mr. C. W. Whish; Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. secretary.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr. Gandhi, the paper was read.*

The CHAIRMAN afterwards said: Ladies and gentlemen, this paper will have convinced everybody that the Jains, who have done so much for education in India, and taken so advanced a position in the liberalizing of the studies of that country, are a people whose philosophy and ideas have a claim to our serious consideration. Such a people, with such a class spirit amongst them, could not have been produced unless there were latent in the principles which govern them something raising them above our ordinary plane of everyday thoughts and aspirations. Therefore we must be grateful to the Jains, and must endeavour, if we can, to penetrate into the secret underlying motives of their mental activity. In that we shall be assisted by the paper just read, and, I hope, by further contributions in the same line of study by the distinguished gentleman who has favoured us with the paper to-day. It would be beyond my power to go into a minute discussion of the various points brought forward, which are matters only for scholars in a very special line. The most we can do is to take up a point here and there, and make a few observations with a view of suggesting a point for further elucidation, either now or on another occasion, by our learned lecturer. From that standpoint I should like to put forward one or two matters for inquiry. The relation of the Jain philosophy to the early Greek philosophy suggested several questions. Mr. Gandhi has mentioned Thales. Thales, looking out on the surface of creation, thought he detected the active principle of the universe in moisture. He was followed by another distinguished philosopher, who thought that water might be a very active force in nature, but that it could not be brought into activity without something which he could himself feel; and what he felt in his own person as being the central force was air. Then

* See this paper elsewhere in this Review.

came Diogenes of Apollonia, who carried the speculation a step further, and said there must be something behind the air; there must be a soul to give it this particular characteristic, and so he imagined as a *primum mobile*, or first source of being in action, the Soul of the Universe. These are views natural enough in the world of philosophy in its early stages. I should have been pleased if Mr. Gandhi had told us how far the earlier speculations of the Jain philosophers ran in this course. He takes us somewhat at a bound to the point of the development of all phenomenal existence from central real existence which lies behind, but the distinction is not to my mind quite clearly made out, of the Jain philosophy from the other systems, when he says the Jains are the advocates of the development theory, from which he springs to the notion that their ideal is physical, mental, spiritual, and moral perfection. He goes on to say that the phenomenal is on Jain principles indistinguishable from the real. I should like him to say something about the passage in which he says: "First, there is the indefinite cognition as an isolated object or idea." That, to me, is rather puzzling, because cognition to my mind means recognising something by its limits. So long as you do not assign to something limits which distinguish it from something else, the process can hardly be called a cognition; it only becomes a cognition in so far as you mark it off by some particular signs, or limits, from other notions. Then we have the phrase, "condensation of all differences." I suppose that means a "suppression of differences." If you, in your philosophizing, in order to arrive at some comprehensive category, suppress one difference after another, at last you lose all possibility of recognition. I take it that "condensation" here means suppression—that you lose yourself if you carry that suppression of particulars and accidents and differences too far. Then the word "diffuseness" occurs. "The analysis shall not be an absolute diffuseness." I take it "diffusion" is used in the sense of "dispersion," so that the characteristics are so scattered that you can no longer recognise what it was you were proposing to deal with. I hope Mr. Gandhi will forgive me for being so critical. People are excusably critical when they know nothing of a subject and want to learn something. I take it that this phrase, "The doctrine of the inexpugnability of the inextricably combined properties and relations" in our everyday dialect means this: "A rational necessity under which we are of conceiving certain things as related to other things in particular ways." Another point struck me as being worth a word or two as to law in nature and a law as amongst human beings. Mr. Gandhi, I suppose taking the Jain view, says, "A law is not a command, but a formula to which things or beings conform precisely, and without exception under definite relations." This agrees with the view that I thought was to be gathered from the somewhat complicated statement I read a minute or two ago, namely, that things must needs be conceived as having certain relations to one another—that is, some things must. The proper way to state this would be the familiar one, it is not a command but a summary of observations. It comes to this, that law in nature is a statement in a systematic way, of the conditions of the existences of the actual phenomena, the difference between this and the human law

being that amongst natural objects it is the obedience which constitutes the law, whereas amongst human beings it is the law which enforces the obedience, or at least it is that which commands the obedience, which is enforced by a sanction behind it. There was a point which struck me as being extremely interesting. He said, "Clay, stones, etc., as they come fresh from the earth, have life." If that is a correct statement, which I do not doubt, of the Jain view, they are trespassing very much on the field of Thales, whose idea was that it was moisture which constituted the life; and the Jain idea appears to be of a universality of life existing under these particular conditions, in which you contrive to expel more or less moisture. I am afraid, however, that I am trespassing upon time which ought to be given to other gentlemen. There are a number of most interesting topics which suggest themselves in connection with this paper, and I hope that Mr. Gandhi, when he has leisure, will develop the subject more at length. To compress a statement of the Jain philosophy, and the contributions it has made to the intellectual growth of mankind within the compass of a lecture of half an hour, would be too great an effort for the greatest genius. Therefore I think it no ill compliment to Mr. Gandhi to say his paper will, in my opinion, admit of a considerable degree of expansion and development with advantage, to the elucidation of the argument, and our further comprehension of the somewhat abstruse subject with which he has dealt.

Sir Lepel Griffin would be glad if the lecturer would enlighten them on the most important questions connected with the subject. He would first observe for the information of those present, who had not been personally connected with the Jains, that they were an exceedingly interesting community, and there was no more strange or weird sight than that of the stricter Jains, with their faces bound up with white cloths to prevent the possibility of an insect entering into their mouths, and so inadvertently destroying life; and holding little brooms in their hands with which they carefully swept the ground before them, or the seat upon which they were going to sit, in order that they might not tread, or sit, on any living thing. Many of the stricter members of the community lived in monasteries or nunneries, in the most ascetic fashion, eating only food which was the refuse of the meals of others, drinking only dirty water, and performing all sorts of menial offices. He thanked Mr. Gandhi for having directed the attention of English students to the Jain philosophy and creed, and would ask to be informed regarding the difference, now somewhat obscure, between the dogmatic teaching of Jainism and Buddhism. To his mind there was amongst the creeds of the world none so fascinating as Buddhism. It was purely atheistic in the best sense of the word, with an ethical system, which provided for mankind a future of happiness or misery, according to whether the course of life on earth had been virtuous or vicious. The subtleties so ingeniously suggested by the chairman were after all of very little practical importance. The question present in the minds of most of them, he thought, was what was the differentiation between Buddhism and Jainism. Was there really any philosophical difference between the two creeds?

MR. COLDSTREAM had listened with great pleasure, and derived much instruction from the address. None of them who had lived in India could have failed to be interested in the development of this most interesting system. At the beginning of his address the lecturer had told them of the statue carved by the carpenter which needed to be clothed. They would like very much if he, the lecturer, or other competent scholar, would do something to clothe the bare statue of the abstract description of Jainism by a description of the practical life of the Jain people. There were a good many Jains in the Punjab. In the Central Punjab (he did not think they extended as a clan beyond the Ravee) they were called Bhabrahs, while in the parts about Delhi and Hissar they were known as Saraogis. The developments of the system in everyday life formed an interesting study as to their views of the sanctity of life, and their vegetarianism. In some parts of the country it took the form of a hesitation in using vegetables of a certain kind, those, for instance, of a red colour, because, he supposed, red was the colour of blood.* The Jains were a mercantile community, very much respected, and a people who carried weight in many ways. They had many interesting customs. In the district with which he was connected they used to put their families into ox-carts, and drive them through country by-roads to a very remote village, where there was a shrine, or place of ancestral sanctity or veneration.† He made these remarks to emphasize his feeling that the Jain people were deserving of intimate study.‡

MR. WHISH thought they owed a debt to the lecturer for having brought so important a subject to their notice. One of the first necessities for successful administration in India was to comprehend the vast congeries of races and customs, and for that comprehension tolerant and sympathetic views of religions whose tenets conflicted with their own were essential. The historical part of the question was of intense interest. It was at first thought that Jainism was an offspring of Buddhism, but later researches had shown that the fact was the other way. It would be interesting if the lecturer could give them information on this subject. The subject suggested by the chairman as to the extent to which Jainism was indebted to the Greek inspiration was also a subject of great interest. He could not follow the lecturer in his philosophical observations. It seemed

* In Hoshiárpur, Punjab, the unwillingness of the Bhabrah women to handle raw vegetables of particular kinds—some probably on account of their red colour, and others, perhaps, because of the insects adhering to them—led them to get their neighbours of less scrupulous views to cut up their raw vegetables, and prepare them for the pot.

Again, the Ját and "Bágari" peasantry in the Hissar and Scosa districts are so imbued with the tenets of Jainism in the direction of the preservation of animal life, that they are seriously annoyed when a sportsman appears in the neighbourhood of their villages to shoot antelope, which there abound.

† This remote village is called Fattehpore. He (the speaker) was never able to visit it, but it lies, he believes, twenty to thirty miles north-east of Hoshiárpur, at the base of, or in, the Siwalik hills. It contains, not improbably, some very ancient remains.

‡ The Bhabrah women are known in Hoshiárpur for their skill and industry in needlework—in the production especially of those handsome embroideries, coloured floss silks of coarse quality sown on a ground of coloured cotton cloth, called in the Punjab phulkári or chob, so much in demand for domestic decoration in England and elsewhere.

almost too intricate a subject for anyone but an expert. He thought that all movements for the humane treatment of animals must be largely indebted to Jainism. When the present war was over public attention would no doubt be turned to the treatment of horses, which he believed had suffered more than the men. Another subject of interest was the correspondence between the Jain architecture and English Gothic.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN said that there was one part of the lecture which he thought might have been a good deal amplified, to which Sir Lepel Griffin had referred, namely, how far Buddhism was indebted to Jainism for its general precepts. He could bear testimony to what had been said of the character of the men who professed the Jain religion. They were of a very estimable character, men of high principles, keeping aloof from all other agitations which led to nothing but embroilment with other communities.

SIR ROLAND WILSON had no special acquaintance with the Jains, beyond having once visited their very beautiful temple at Ahmedabad, where what struck him most was in the first place that, as in the Mahommedan mosque, he was expected to take his boots off before entering, but that, as was not the case in the mosque, he was provided instead with a pair of slippers, and next that he there saw what he had not expected to see, priestesses taking an important part in the prayers. Pending the answer of the lecturer to the very interesting question put by Sir Lepel Griffin and others, as to the relations between Jainism and Buddhism, he thought he might assume that in those respects, which chiefly interested such an audience as the present, the two were practically identical. Jainism and Buddhism were alike in being practically atheistical, but combining with that, a very definite belief in law and personal responsibility, and a capacity for extreme self-denial in obedience to that impersonal law. In England also it was easy to meet with highly conscientious agnostics; but it did not follow that the position was intellectually tenable. He himself thought it was not, and referred to the recent masterly treatise of Dr. James Ward, of Cambridge. Another point common to Buddhism and Jainism was the aversion to the taking of life, and consequently to all forms of fighting, even when purely defensive. In that it seemed to him they had an explanation in a great measure of the presence in India, first of the Mahommedans, and then of the British. He thought that the essential contradiction between the existence of a State and the principle of non-resistance was sufficient to explain the ultimate downfall of Buddhism. True, the Jains survived, and were still (as the lecturer had shown) very useful members of the community; so were the Quakers in this country; but the existence and usefulness of both were dependent on the willingness of others, who did not share their principles, to afford them protection.

MR. MARTIN WOOD felt that there was a little deficiency in the historical part of the matter. He had not gathered personally the difference between Buddhism and Jainism in point of order. Was it not that the Jains entered more into practical life? Did not the Jains set up the system of honouring their chief men? It was new to him that Jainism preceded Buddhism.

The HON. J. D. REES said that the questions asked as to the differences

between the Jains and the Buddhists rather referred to doctrinal differences. As far as he had seen the Jains, he had not been able to see in their life and conversation any difference between them and the Hindus around them. He would like to ask to what extent Jainism was a living religion, so as to differentiate its professors from the Hindus around them.

MR. GANDHI said: Ladies and gentlemen, I sincerely thank the speakers for their sympathetic observations and their desire to have certain points cleared. The time at our disposal being limited, I hope you will excuse me if I condense my remarks. The first point demanding explanation is the relation between the Jain philosophy and the early Greek philosophy. In my view there is no relation between them. The early Greek philosophers were pure physiologers; they mainly studied the material universe, and that in a rudely observational manner. We cannot call them materialists, for the antithesis between matter and spirit was unknown to them. The cosmic matter passed with them for something in itself living; they thought of it as animated, just as are particular organs. It is naive hylozoism. They were in search of an ultimate ground of the universe. The earliest Jain records, on the other hand, dispense with this way of looking upon philosophical questions. They distinctly teach that the cosmos has no beginning and no end. The search for its origin is therefore futile. This does not mean that the state or modality of the cosmos is the same at all times. It is constantly changing. Any particular state is the resultant of previously operating causes, which, in their turn, are the results of other previously operating causes, and so on, without coming to a stop. The search for a cause or origin is the outcome of the inner conviction of the human mind that a state of things must be the effect of sufficient cause or causes. The cause or causes, when found, must necessarily, by the same logic, be the effects of other causes, and so on. To stop at some causeless cause is suicidal to the inner conviction just referred to. The fact is that when the mind in its search for the origin of the universe stops at something, it is because of its inability (lack of capacity) to go further, or to grasp or imagine a previous state of things. Next, the antithesis between matter and spirit is clearly drawn in the earliest Jain canonical books. These works are the records of the teaching of Mahâvira, the last Arhat, who lived about the time of the Ionic philosophers. Later, when Alexander the Great came to India, Jain philosophy was already an established system. If there is any borrowing at all, it must be on the part of the Greeks. The chairman has detected a similarity between Thales' view that water or moisture is the origin of the world, and the Jain view that moist clay, etc., have life. He therefore remarks that the Jains are trespassing very much on the field of Thales, whose idea was that it was moisture which constituted the life; and that the Jain idea appears to be of a universality of life, existing under these particular conditions, in which you contrive to expel more or less moisture. On reference to my paper, you will see that, in the Jain view, even fire, which is a negation of moisture, has life. Besides, according to Thales, the whole cosmos is a living thing; according to Jains, there are living as well as lifeless things in the world.

The statement that the Jains are advocates of the development theory was made to contrast the Jain view with that of the Vedanta, and not in reference to the origin of the world, nor was it in reference to the development of "all phenomenal existence from central real existence which lies behind." I think I must put the Jain view about phenomenal and noumenal existence in a clearer form. In the Kantian philosophy, noumenon is that which can be the object only of a purely intellectual intuition. To such an existence the Jains have no objection; nay, they postulate the existence of realities which are supersensuous. Such realities are a part of the cosmos, but not a cause or origin of it. There are other Western philosophers who advocate the view that behind the world of phenomena there is an impenetrable world of noumena, that behind this apparent existence there is a hidden existence, of which the varied phenomena are but fleeting manifestations, that things in themselves are necessarily different from things in relation to us. In brief, a noumenon in their view is a thing as it is apart from all thought; it is what remains of the object of thought after space, time, and all the categories of the understanding are abstracted from it. To this view the Jains give an emphatic denial. The Jain position is: First, that right knowledge is the only test or measure on our part of the existence of a reality; secondly, that knowledge is always the knowledge of relations; thirdly, that reality is never out of relations (a particular reality may not be in physical relation with another reality, it may be in the relationship of subject and object, knower and known); and fourthly, that the relations are constantly changing. To be is to be in relation. So, when we know a thing, we know the relations—some, if not all—in which it stands to us and to other things. *To that extent* we *know* the thing *as it is.* There are other present relations which we do not know, and there are other possible relations also which we may not know under our present state of development. This residuum of relationships is the noumenon. The task of our research ought to be to fix these unknown relations, and not to go in quest of the phantom "thing in itself." As Mr. George Henry Lewes says: "The illusion of an existence underlying the appearance arises from our tendency to dissociate abstractions from their concretes, and endow the former with a permanent reality denied to the latter." Noumenon and phenomenon are not two separate existences, but only two modes of our looking upon the full content of a thing, part of which is known and part unknown to us now. The fallacy in the popular mind in reference to these terms is that of confounding a logical distinction with an actual separation.

This leads me to the next point that demands explanation, namely, the difference between Jainism and Buddhism. In the Buddhist view, nothing is permanent. Transitoriness is the only reality. As Professor Oldenberg says: "The speculation of the Brahmans apprehended being in all being, that of the Buddhists becoming in all apparent being." The Jains, on the contrary, consider being and becoming as two different and complementary ways of our viewing the same thing. Reality in the Jain view is a permanent subject of changing states. To be, to stand in relation, to be active, to act upon other things, to obey law, to be a cause, to be a

permanent subject of states, to be the same to-day as yesterday, to be identical in spite of its varying activities, these are the Jain conceptions of reality. Mere becoming is as much an abstraction as mere being. In short, being and becoming are complements of the full notion of a reality. Besides, Buddhism discards the idea of individuality. Jainism, on the other hand, considers individuality in the twofold aspect of permanence and transitoriness. The individual, in the Jain view, continues to exist in different states. Next, the Buddhist idea of the *summum bonum* is undefined. The Jain idea is that of perfection of the individual. Jainism teaches the doctrine of soul, Buddhism denies it. There are many other differentiating points, but these will do for our present purposes.

Referring to Jain psychology and logic, the interpretations which the Chairman gave of certain words and expressions occurring in the paper—*e.g.*, "condensation," "diffusiveness"—are correct, and I must thank him for his remarks in that line. I used the phrase "indefinite cognition." By that I mean that state of the mind in which there is no clear differentiating notion about the object. It is a state in which the mind in a vague way feels that it (the object) is something. It is the state of the mind prior to analysis. In the absence of any special word which would signify this idea, I used the words "indefinite cognition," the Greek equivalent of which is synthesis.

The historical fact now revealed about the priority of Jainism over Buddhism is, I am sorry to say, known only to a few outside the circle of Oriental scholars. I would refer those who are anxious to study this question to the learned introductions by Professor Jacobi to vols. xxii. and xlv. of the Sacred Books of the East Series.

At this stage I am bound to admire the faculty of observation which those of you who have lived in India had exercised in reference to the strange habits and customs of the people. For instance, Sir Lepel Griffin alludes to certain Jains who cover their faces with white cloths to prevent the possibility of an insect entering into their mouths, and so inadvertently destroying life. Sir Roland Wilson, when visiting the Jain temple at Ahmedabad, was struck with the fact that Jains asked him to take off his boots, but that instead he was offered a pair of slippers; also that there were priestesses in the temple taking part in the prayers. Mr. Coldstream observed the fact that in the Punjab Jains hesitated to eat vegetables of red colour. The Jains referred to by Sir Lepel are a new sect, which came into existence only 200 years ago. They are known as Dhundhiâs. Their habits and life are extremely unclean. The older Jains teach that the constant covering of the mouth and nose with cloth makes the breath so poisonous that it destroys more life than open breathing would do; also that uncleanliness generates and destroys more animalculæ than are destroyed by keeping clean. Such sporadic movements are likely to arise in any country and in any religion. Students and scholars ought not to form any judgment about a philosophical system from the doings of such persons. If I know nothing of Christianity, and happen to attend a Methodist revival meeting and observe the

doings of the persons present, I might as well come to the conclusion that the characteristics of Christianity are that its ministers wear frock-coats, that they raise their hands when uttering the benediction, that they stamp their feet on the floor of the pulpit when they deliver sermons, and that the congregation get religion when they shout in a wild manner. What a poor idea of Christianity! I am gratified to know, however, that there are moments in the life of you Englishmen when you patiently try to understand the subtle and doctrinal differences in the various philosophical systems. But for this fact, I could not have addressed you to-day.

I appreciate Sir Roland Wilson's remarks very highly. The reason why the Jains of Ahmedabad asked him to take off his boots when entering the temple is that leather, in the Jain view, is considered unclean. But, as we know that it is difficult for Europeans to walk unless they have some kind of footgear on, we offer them slippers of canvas, and thus try to make them comfortable when they are our guests in a temple, without wounding our religious susceptibilities. The Mahomedans acted in a different way towards Sir Roland, because, in their view, they must literally carry out their religious injunctions.

There is another remark of Sir Roland which is very pertinent, namely, relating to the aversion of the Jains and Buddhists to the taking of life, and consequently to all forms of fighting, even when purely defensive. In that he finds an explanation, in a great measure, of the presence in India, first of the Mahomedans, and then of the British. In this connection I must observe that the Jain teaching is not that of non-resistance, as it is ordinarily understood. Even a strict Jain, when he takes the vow of non-killing, does so in the following words: "I shall not deliberately kill an innocent being without a purpose." This shows what limiting conditions are joined to the idea of non-killing. As a matter of fact, non-resistance is now the characteristic of the Jains as well as Hindus. But I do not think it is the result of their aversion to taking life. Even the flesh-eaters in India have ceased to fight, except those who are paid to do so. Some persons think that the Jain preaching of vegetarianism is the chief cause of the disappearance of fighting qualities from the Hindus. The fact is, that vegetarianism does not necessarily disincline a person to fight. The conquering soldiers of Rome and Sparta, the athletes and wrestlers of Greece, were generally abstainers from flesh-meat. The true cause of the presence of foreigners in India as conquerors at various periods of its history is that the Hindus have been for centuries fighting and quarrelling among themselves, and that no sense of a common nationality was ever developed in them. Secondly, under those circumstances the conception of a modern Western State never entered into their mind. Hence, they respected the authority and laws of the sovereign ruling for the time being. For centuries they have been used to passive submission. The late Sir J. R. Seeley, Regius Professor of History at the University of Cambridge, says in his "Expansion of England": "I showed you that of the army which won our victories [in India], four-fifths consisted of native troops. That we were able to hire these native troops for service in India was due

to the fact that the feeling of nationality had no existence there. Now, if the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there only feebly, if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion, from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist, for of the army by which it is garrisoned, two-thirds consist of native soldiers." The Hon. Mr. Rees wanted to know whether Jainism was a living religion, so as to differentiate its professors from the Hindus around them. The idea of the sanctity of life which permeates the Jains, and which they forced on the minds of the Hindus, is the living characteristic of the Jain religion. The sharp differentiations are visible only at the time of the birth of institutions. The conflicts they create in society are ultimately reduced to a state of equilibrium through giving and taking. So now, so far as masses are concerned, there will be found very little difference between Jains and Hindus. The philosophical part of a religion is grasped only by a few; the majority are satisfied with formalism. Still, the Hindu life has received an abiding impression from Jain teachings. As Mr. Whish suggested, all movements for the humane treatment of animals must be largely, and are, in fact, indebted to Jainism. If we search for the real difference, we shall find it only when we compare a cultured Hindu (in the Hindu sense) with a cultured Jain (in the Jain sense). The cultured Hindu believes in the offering of oblations to the manes of his ancestors, and does offer them; the cultured Jain does not. The ethical vows of a cultured Jain are stricter than those of a cultured Hindu. The record of crime in India bears ample testimony to the fact that very few Jains commit violent crimes. Sir William Rattigan has told you that the Jains are of a very estimable character, men of high principles. I have already quoted the opinion of Lord Curzon about the Jains at the end of my paper.

In conclusion, I must again express my gratefulness to the Chairman and other speakers for their helpful remarks and sympathetic criticisms, and also to the audience for the patience with which they have followed me in the treatment of an abstruse subject.

The lecturer resumed his seat amidst applause.

The CHAIRMAN, in the name of the meeting, thanked Mr. Gandhi both for his paper and for the observations he had made.

The proceedings then terminated.

On Tuesday, June 12, 1900, a paper was read by Archibald Colquhoun, Esq., on "Afghanistan, the Key to India," Joseph Walton, Esq., M.P., in the Chair. The following among others were present: Sir L. Lyell, Bart., M.P., Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I., Sir Joseph Frizelle, General Sir J. Hood Gordon, Major-General Jago Trelawny, Colonel Clementi, Lieutenant-Colonel Dampier, Major Davis, Honourable Madan Gopal, Dr. Sarat K. Mullick, Moulvie Rafi'-uddin Ahmed, Mr. S. Ahmed, Mr. T. A. Anderson, Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. K. Beauchamp, Mrs. Bishop, F.R.G.S., Mr. Byron Brennan, Mr. J. E. Champney, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Colquhoun, Raizada Eshwar Das, Mrs. Fennessy,

Mr. F. Hinde, Mr. S. N. Hosain, Mr. Aly Mahomed, Mr. Nugent, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. Krishna Rau, Mr. Kanwar Sain, Mr. Christopher Taylor, Mr. S. Thorburn, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Miss Webster, Mr. W. E. Whitehead, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr. Colquhoun, the paper was read.*

The CHAIRMAN said he had listened with great interest to the able paper which had been read. Personally he had no unreasoning jealousy of Russia; on the contrary, he was full of admiration for her splendid activity, and for those qualities of energy and enterprise which she had so signally displayed, especially during the last twenty or thirty years. Russia, a comparatively poor country, was engaged in railway undertakings which would probably cost considerably more than 100 millions sterling. There was first of all the Siberian Railway, stretching right across Asia down into North China. A branch of the Siberian Railway was to be constructed from Lake Baikal to Pekin; and there was the railway to which the lecturer had referred—the Trans-Caspian Railway. He did not think this country realized the fact that there was a great line of railway constructed by Russia to the frontier of Eastern Turkestan, which could easily be extended to the Upper Yangtse by a route which enabled Russia to escape all the difficulties of the mountainous country and Thibet. In connection with the Trans-Caspian Railway there was also the branch line coming down to Herat. If they had been told thirty years ago that to-day Russia would possess this railway almost to the gates of Herat, it would have been said to be absolute nonsense for Russia to dream of such a thing; but they were face to face with the fact that for reasons of her own Russia was steadily and persistently advancing her military occupation of great regions of Asia by means of railway construction. To-day Russia was in practical control of Northern Persia, and if this country were not wide awake to safeguard our interests, before many years were over Southern Persia would also pass under the domination of Russia. With the great rivers of Russia connected with the Caspian Sea, it was only natural that Russia should desire a trade-route with an outlet to the Persian Gulf. He did not know whether Russia even dreamed of sweeping the Britishers out of Asia and having Asia entirely under Russian Government, but at any rate they were face to face with the fact that whether through Persia, or in Central Asia, or across Northern Asia, Russia to-day was actively engaged in enterprises which increased her influence, and extended her dominions, whilst he felt humiliated as an Englishman to realize that comparatively speaking the British Government had pursued a do-nothing policy. Personally he did not regard Afghanistan as by any means the only key to India. He thought a graver danger to India might arise if Russia eventually acquired Persia, and had a system of railways to the Persian Gulf, and the power to construct a railway through Beluchistan to the frontier of India, escaping altogether that natural mountain frontier in the north-west which had always been regarded as safeguarding our

* See our second article.

Indian Empire. In 1892, by the kindness of Lord Roberts, he (the Chairman) and Mr. Spencer Wilkinson had a most interesting expedition through the Khyber Pass over the frontier into Afghanistan. He had for many years taken an interest in what was transpiring on the north-west frontier of India, and he was of opinion that a great mistake had been made in not occupying and holding Kandahar. He was afraid that, taking advantage at some time of our hands being full elsewhere, we might look forward to having Russia in occupation of Herat. What further advance she would endeavour to make through Afghanistan he could not with certainty tell. It might be that she desired to threaten us in India to compel us to refrain from opposing her designs in Turkey, or other districts in Europe. However that might be, having accepted the responsibility of empire, it was our duty to be watchful, and to safeguard that empire from aggression on the part of foreign Powers. He believed that the British rule gave to the populations under it the greatest liberty, and the most just government. He rejoiced that they had this great empire, in the acquisition of which much blood and money had been spent. We threw it open to the trade of all nations, but unfortunately other great nations, such as Russia, France, and Germany, if they acquired territories, immediately instituted protective tariffs against British trade which would probably strangle it in the future. In French Indo-China in 1885 seven-eighths of the whole imports were taken from England, Germany, and Switzerland, but last year three-fourths of the whole imports went from France, and only one-fourth from the rest of the world. That was simply due to protective tariffs, in many cases of 50 per cent. If we allowed our trade rights to be filched from us in the great empire of China, it would be fatal to the future commercial prosperity of this country. He was afraid that in these remarks he had not adhered closely to the excellent paper which had been read, and which they would read again in print. It was a paper deserving of careful consideration, and about which no hasty opinion ought to be expressed. The lecturer had brought under their consideration an important matter which ought not to be lost sight of by anyone interested in the upholding of our just political and commercial rights, not only throughout the British empire, but throughout the world. He trusted that many of those present would take a part in the discussion which he hoped would follow.

Mr. Thorburn considered that there was a practical means of arriving at the desired result—the arrest of the advance of Russia towards India—without making what he thought would be the great mistake of invading, or occupying, Afghanistan for the fourth time in the history of our connection with it. With reference to the approach to India through Southern Persia, he agreed with what the Chairman had said. Northern Persia was now practically within the suzerainty of Russia, and the change from that to actual sovereignty might be effected by Russia whenever she chose to put forth her hand. He doubted whether our influence inside Persia now extended beyond the range of a few obsolete guns mounted on our six or seven obsolete gun-boats which policed the Persian Gulf. In the last sixty years Afghanistan had been three times invaded by us. Twice had we made war against Persia to cause her to relax her hold upon Herat in

order to keep Herat an integral part of Afghanistan. India had in all spent something like £75,000,000 with the object of keeping Russia at a distance. The latest expenditure was upon the delimitation of Afghanistan. If all that expenditure meant anything, it meant that Afghanistan was earmarked as a sphere of exclusive British influence inside which Russia might not advance, whether the Ameer were Anglophile or Russophile. During our recent disasters in South Africa Russia had completed a branch-line from Merv to Kushk, seventy or eighty miles from Herat. The distance formerly was 250 miles by road. The branch, which was practically the Merv-Herat extension of the Trans-Caspian Railway, was 180 to 190 miles long. He had recently read in the *Times* that during our troubles in South Africa, whilst our continental friends agreed that we should be occupied there for two or three years more, Russia transferred from Tiflis and other places upwards of 20,000 men to Kushk, and had thus converted a small outpost into a very large cantonment. There was no *raison d'être* for that railway or for that large garrison except with the object of occupying Herat whenever a good opportunity should offer. Doubtless, had our troubles continued, London would have waked some morning to read that Russian troops were holding Herat. The inhabitants of the Herat Valley were chiefly Shias; they were not true Afghans; they were rather sorts of hybrids; and practically the hold Afghanistan had upon the Herat Valley was that of a military occupation. It was the same with Afghan Turkestan, the inhabitants of which were Uzbegs and others, not Afghans. Thus Russia might any day, unless prevented, advance to the Hindu Kush and, without any large expenditure of men or money, absorb the whole of Afghan Turkestan and Herat as well. On certain points he did not agree with Mr. Colquhoun. The lecturer seemed to hold that the counter-move on our part, supposing Russia were to occupy Herat, would be to move on to Kandahar. That could, of course, be done in a couple of nights; but it would, Mr. Thorburn thought, be playing Russia's game, which was the partition of Afghanistan, the annihilation of the buffer region. Her statesmen had hitherto wished that in the ultimate partition of Afghanistan the country *trans*-Hindu Kush should fall to Russia, and *cis*-Hindu Kush to England; that was, that England should have all the fighting people to trouble her, and that Russia should have all the peaceful population. He came then to a practical suggestion which he hoped would be discussed. The United States, without a fleet, without an army, and with hardly any foreign interests, and with none whatsoever in South America, had declared that her "Monroe Doctrine" applied not only to Central America, but also to South America. Now, England had the command of the sea, and a considerable army, but had not yet made any declaration as to what her definite fixed policy was in Persia or in Afghanistan. Our present agreement with the Ameer was that we guaranteed the integrity of delimited Afghanistan to the Ameer so long as he had no dealings with any Government other than the Government of India. If the Ministry of the day found this obligation inconvenient, there were many ways in which they could exasperate the Ameer, as we had done in 1892, and so make out

that he had failed to observe his part of the agreement with us. The proposal he would make was that instead of the drift policy in Persia, and the policy, or impolicy, of opportunism in Afghanistan, we should boldly follow the United States and announce a "Monroe Doctrine" of our own which would apply to a certain area as the hinterland of the Persian Gulf, and to delimited Afghanistan.

MOULVIE RAFI'UDDIN AHMED protested against the suggestion that practically Afghanistan should be annexed. In his opinion, the best policy was not to make another enemy by annexing Afghanistan, but to make a good friend and ally of the Ameer of Afghanistan, and of Persia. The making of lines of communication and military occupation was not everything; the affections of the people must be secured.

MR. MARTIN WOOD had rather wondered at the selection of the subject of the lecture, as the subject had been discussed and disposed of over and over again. There was no danger that the question of Afghanistan should be overlooked. The key to India was not in Afghanistan, but, as Mr. Disraeli had said, it was in this city, in themselves, and in their own territories. Since 1876, over £100,000,000 had been spent in making this key to India fit. Supposing Russia used this key, she would find it very rusty indeed. Lord Roberts, writing in May, 1880, had pointed out that the longer and more difficult the line of communication was the greater the obstacles which Russia would have to overcome. He objected to the matter being left to be dealt with by India. Russia should be dealt with in Europe. As to Persia, anyone who had read the address of the Vice-President on Persia would see how vain were the assumptions that Russia was going to do everything that she liked in Persia.

MRS. BISHOP said that, although she knew nothing about Afghanistan, yet perhaps she might be allowed to make one or two remarks on subjects with which she was familiar during eight and a half years of Asiatic travel. One always felt Mr. Colquhoun's facts to be unassailable, and that they were marshalled with an admirable clearness and brevity. With his conclusions, however, one might be allowed at times to differ. She was not a Russophobist, nor did she see why the two great empires should not come to a distinct understanding to civilize the Asiatic world. She thought that both England and Russia were Powers specially designated to do this great work. Wherever she had encountered Russian civilization in the East among Oriental tribes, she had considered that such civilization was worth carrying to those tribes, and that Russia had a knack of ruling conquered or acquired races which designated her as fitted for the task of civilizing them. She would briefly refer to what she had gathered in the course of a long journey in Persia as to the popular opinion amongst Persians concerning Russia. The subject of Russia was constantly coming up in conversation with the people. She travelled for a week with a large caravan of Mahommedan pilgrims from the Caucasus, and at night their leaders used to come to her tent veranda. The chief subject talked about was the probability, as they considered it, of Russia occupying Persia down to Ispahan within a few years. The gist of their remarks was that they had, under the Russian Government, got just land settlements, justice in

the Russian courts, and absolute toleration for their religion, and they would not wish a better government than that under which they were then living. The merchants and others spoke to the same effect. She never had heard anything that could be called an expression of patriotic feeling; they did not, they said, care whether they paid their taxes to the Tzar or to the Shah. They knew that the Tzar would let their religion alone, that they would have justice, and be free from the oppression of officials; they would know what taxes they had to pay, and so forth. The surveying party with which she travelled in Lurastom took much trouble to ascertain if, in the case of a collision with Russia, the heads of the nomad Bakhtiari Lurs would place their 10,000 light horsemen at the disposal of the British Government, irregulars well acquainted with the country, and excellent shots. It was very evident that the light horsemen, in the event of war with Russia, would be sold to the highest bidder, and that the presents which the Government of India had sent to the Bakhtiari chiefs might as well have remained at home. There were about 2,000,000 of these nomads, and in every nomad tent were innumerable articles of Russian manufacture. In the civilized states of Western Persia the people were clothed to a great extent in cottons which she recognised at once as foreign. The women said that the Russians consulted their tastes in the pattern and colouring, so that they preferred them to the English article, although the latter was cheaper. Everywhere there was indifference as to whether Russia should occupy Persia or not. Russia had relieved Eastern Persia from the annual inroads of the Turcomans. The Chairman had mentioned that a route through Persia would be of greater value to Russia than a route through Afghanistan, and certainly from what she saw she was disposed to agree with him. To bring her remarks to a close, she would observe that the knack of understanding Oriental peoples, and of dealing with them, which Russia had displayed, the result partly of her Oriental origin, was a factor which perhaps had not been sufficiently regarded with respect to Russian advance everywhere in Asia. Another factor was that there was continuity and definite purpose about the Russian policy, while necessarily, from our form of government, our own was shifty and opportunist, and apt to give Orientals an impression of oscillation and weakness.

Mr. COLQUHOUN desired to make some observations in reply. Mr. Thorburn had questioned the suitability of the title of his paper, "The Key to India." By this he had meant to convey the impression that the key to India did not lie absolutely in the possession of Herat, or of Kandahar, or Kabul, but rather that Afghanistan conferred upon its future owner the key to India, and he would go still further, and say even the key to Britain, because in Afghanistan would be found the fulcrum of the lever which would enable Russia to press the English out of India unless they took the steps which he had indicated. He did not propose any rough and brutal military occupation of Kandahar and Kabul. The main proposition of his paper was that the theory of "buffer States" had long ago gone by the board. He had endeavoured to enforce the proposition that they were bound to go forward and occupy with capital, with railways,

and with enterprise, backed up, he had no hesitation in saying, by British arms. He could not favour the suggestion made by Mr. Thorburn that this country should imitate the policy of the Americans, and proclaim a "Monroe Doctrine" with regard to the territories in question, because the circumstances of the two countries (Britain and the United States) were so unlike as to make the application of the Monroe Doctrine futile. Had not Great Britain frequently proclaimed such a policy in Asia and as frequently eaten it afterwards? No mere proclamation of a Monroe Doctrine would carry any weight now unless at the same time steps were taken to back up that doctrine by force if necessary. Mr. Martin Wood had said that the subject of the paper was a very old story. No doubt that was so, but it was a story which could not be told too often. His proposals and the projects of the Russians had been spoken of as puerile, but was there anything puerile about the Trans-Siberian Railway or about the occupation of Port Arthur? The occupation of Kandahar had been referred to as being an inadequate measure, but in suggesting that he was quoting Lord Curzon, and at the same time he pointed out the futility of that measure by itself. His general proposition was that wherever we did not go Russia would go, and that our plan should be to go forward boldly with our capital and our railways. Russia and England were bound to have common frontiers, and the question simply was where those frontiers were to be. He could not see how any understanding with Russia such as had been suggested was possible—at all events, until the Russians saw clearly that we had a policy and how far we were going to advance. The question of supremacy at Herat or elsewhere was simply one of communications; there was a race by railways to occupy territory in Asia. We were doing absolutely nothing in this direction, while Russia was driving a wedge into the heart of China as fast as it could be done. The Russian scheme for the rearrangement of the North-West frontier simply left us everything that we wished not to have, and gave us nothing which we wished to have. It gave us the difficult and turbulent section of Afghanistan, absolutely closed the Indo-European route, and of course surrendered the supremacy of the Persian Gulf to Russia. In conclusion, he would read an extract from a book which he wrote more than a couple of years ago, entitled "China in Transformation." He then said: "The movements which are in progress in the Far East are of the gravest import, and I have not been able to resist the conviction that the immediate destinies of mankind are, to a considerable extent, dependent on the issue of these movements, and although no race question be directly involved, one can scarcely avoid grouping the Powers in combinations which will ultimately place the Teutonic on one side and the Slav-Latin on the other; this would leave Japan as a mediating factor of great influence in the evolution of the Pacific States. The onward march of Russia cannot be stopped even by her own rulers unless it encounters a solid barrier, while the unchecked advance of that power seems certain to confer on her the mastery of the world."

After Mr. Colquhoun had criticised Mr. Thorburn's Monroe Doctrine suggestion,

Mr. THORBURN explained that by that term he meant a clear notification of a "hands-off" policy, with a declaration that Russian aggression inside the ear-marked area would be resisted by force. He further said that he thought the Latin and Teutonic races of Europe had more direct interests in South America than the people of the United States had, and that he expected that in actual mileage South America was about as near the coasts of Spain and Portugal as New York was. In short, what he meant was, to suggest that a solid declaration of policy which the world could understand would be carried out.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mr. PENNINGTON, and carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the East India Association was held at the offices on June 12. In the absence of Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., presided. SIR WILLIAM said that the report which had been previously circulated was drawn up by Sir Lepel Griffin, and dealt with the work the Association had done during the period under review. The accounts had been as usual audited by one member of council and one of the general body of the Association. The Association had, since the report was issued, lost two other valuable members. General Lord Mark Kerr had been a member of the Association almost since its inauguration. It was not for him to criticise the General, who was well known. In Sir George Parker they had lost an Indian official who was well acquainted with that country, and was for some years a Judge of the Madras High Court.

MR. MARTIN WOOD more particularly referred to the death of Mr. P. M. Tait, so long and so intimately connected with the executive of the Association, and well known in the insurance world. He also expressed a hope that the aid which the Association had foreshadowed for the British Indians in South Africa to obtain their just rights would not be long delayed.

Among those present were: W. Coldstream, Esq. (late Punjab I.C.S.); Eshwar Das, Esq.; A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A.; Robert Lewell, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.; J. B. Pennington, Esq. (late Madras I.C.S.); H. R. Cook, Esq.; W. Martin Wood, Esq.; the Hon. Madan Gopal, Barrister-at-Law, of Lahore; and C. W. Arathoon, Esq., hon. secretary.

The President, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., and the three retiring members of council were unanimously re-elected, and the report and accounts were accepted as passed.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN proposed the Hon. Madan Gopal, and the HON. SECRETARY proposed J. Krishna Rau, Esq., Vakil of Bangalore, as members of the Association, and they were duly elected.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

The Council of the East India Association submit their Report for the year 1899-1900. The work of the past season has been seriously impeded by the war in South Africa, so far, at least, as the delivery of lectures has been concerned, for it was found difficult to arouse public interest and attract audiences on any other subject than that which so completely absorbed the general attention. Several lectures of importance were, however, delivered: that of Sir Charles Elliott on the Indian Famine Report of 1899, at which the Earl of Elgin, late Viceroy of India, took the chair, coming within the year under review, although a notice of it found place in the last annual report. Sir William Rattigan gave a most interesting lecture on the Mogul, Mahratta, and Sikh system of administration, and Sir Lepel Griffin one on Persia and its present relations with England and India, which attracted a large and representative audience. The latter part of the present season will be much more fruitful in lectures of interest, no less than five having been arranged for during the next two months and a half. Among papers in preparation or promised, it is pleasing to note that no less than three are by Indian gentlemen of distinction: Mr. Virchand Gandhi on the Jain Religion; Mr. N. B. Wagle on the Industries of India; while Dr. Mallick, who has lately been elected a member of the Association, will read a paper during the next session. Mr. Maconachie, of the Civil Service, lectures on Religious Education in India, and the distinguished traveller Mr. Archibald Colquhoun on Afghanistan, the Key of India.

The arrangements which the Government will make on the termination of the war must greatly affect the question in which the Association has taken so much interest, the position of Indian residents in the South African colonies, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. The Association, when the proper time arrives, will do all in its power to secure for these industrious and orderly people the rights so long denied to them. There can be no doubt that the abuses and tyranny from which they have so grievously suffered under the Boer Government will be swept away, and it may be hoped that the admirable and loyal service rendered by Indians during the war may induce the British colonies to remove or modify the disabilities which trade jealousy has hitherto imposed. The Association has received an interesting communication from Mr. M. H. Nazar from Durban giving a detailed account of the war services rendered by the Indian community, no less than a thousand of whom volunteered as ambulance servants and bearers, and their admirable and gallant conduct under fire and in exceedingly hard and trying duties has earned the highest praise from the military authorities. A large Indian emigration to South Africa would probably have a most beneficial effect on the future peace and development of the country, but it could only be practicable with the full agreement of the several British colonies, and on terms just and honourable to the Indian settlers.

The Government, for reasons of great weight, has not seen fit to require the co-operation of the Indian army in the present war, although its

successful issue is of supreme importance to India. But this Association is bound to express its satisfaction at the spontaneous and general spirit of loyalty which the war has evoked in Her Majesty's Eastern possessions, and at the large and eager proffers of assistance, both in troops and money, which have been made by the great Princes of India, many of them Vice-Presidents of this Association. Should the time arrive when such assistance be asked for, the Association has assured confidence that the devotion of the Indian army and feudatory chiefs will be proved to be not less than that which has been so signally displayed by all other portions of the Empire.

The operations of the Association have been hampered during the past two years by difficulties which have arisen from the death of the trustees of the large endowment granted to the Society by the late Maharaja Takajèe Ráo Holkar of Indore. The income from this endowment has consequently accumulated in the Bank of Bombay, and the Association has hitherto failed to release it. Earnest representations have been made to the present Maharaja of Indore, His Highness Shivajee Ráo Holkar, to appoint new trustees to carry out the intentions of his father, and a satisfactory result is hoped for. Meanwhile, the Council would invite the attention of the Princes of India and wealthy members of the community to the urgent need of the Association for increased means to carry out the aims and objects of the Society, which are fully set forth in their declaration of principles, and which a larger and assured income would enable the Association to attain with the greatest advantage to all classes of the Indian people.

The Council have lost two of their members by death during the past year: Mr. P. M. Tait, one of their oldest and most respected colleagues, and Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., whose literary services to India, in a series of masterly works of the highest interest and importance, have not been exceeded by those of any writer in the present generation.

Other members of the Association removed by death are General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I., the distinguished engineer, one of our Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Archibald Rogers.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"JAHANDAR THE AXE."

To this Review for April, 1900, Mr. C. R. Wilson contributed an exceedingly instructive article on the "Descendants of Oliver Cromwell in Calcutta," an article full of new matter, all of it excellently put. On page 362 he refers to one of the Mogul Emperors who reigned for a year in 1712 as "Jahandar the Axe," adding in a note that from the English records it appears that Jahandar, on account of his cruelty, was popularly called *kulhārū*—that is, the axe. I should like to make a few remarks upon this epithet.

To begin with, there is the curious fact that in a minute study of the native historians of the eighteenth century, prolonged now over more than ten years, I have never yet found any form of epithet or title attributed to Jahandar Shah bearing the remotest resemblance to *kulhārū*. As so often happens in such matters, it is quite possible that I may now come across the word in more than one unexpected place, just as I have stumbled upon the passage in Holwell's book which I quote later on. Meanwhile, until the publication of the English records from which Mr. Wilson has derived his information, the fact that there was such an epithet in use may be provisionally admitted. As to the origin assigned to it, it is possible, even now, to doubt whether the word was rightly interpreted as having some reference to an axe. No doubt *kulhārā* is a common Hindi word, of which the meaning is an axe or hatchet. On the other hand, I can find no warrant for the assertion that Jahandar Shah was in any way more cruel in disposition than the rest of the men of his race and time.

Again, still relying on English writers only, we are met with a marked discrepancy in the origins assigned to the epithet. I have just found the following passage bearing on the matter in J. Z. Holwell's "Tracts," part i., p. 30,

edition of 1766: "He was thought by his father, *Shaw Allum*, the only general capable of repulsing the dangerous annual invasions of the *Bolluccais*, which threatened the empire on the side of Persia. Prince *Mauz O'din* [*i.e.*, Jahandar Shah] was sent against these warlike people, at the head of the choicest troops in the empire; and in a continued campaign of five years he had many and signal battles with the invaders; that gave him vast renown. In one of these, when the enemy was entrenched behind a strong and thick wood, on which side only they could be attacked, he cut a passage through the wood, forced their entrenchments sword in hand, and hardly any of the enemy escaped the slaughter. No sooner were the particulars of this action arrived at Court, than the Emperor his father gave him the title of *Prince of the Hatchets*, one of the *honorary titles* ever since given to the first Prince of the blood."

We have here an Englishman who lived in Bengal hardly more than a generation after the time of Jahandar Shah offering a much more plausible explanation of the origin of the epithet than that alleged by Mr. Wilson's authority. While still adhering to the interpretation of the "Hatchet," Holwell makes out the epithet to be an honorary distinction, granted as a reward for service in the field. In his version the connection with an axe or hatchet is the vigour displayed by the Prince as a commander in causing his axemen to cut a passage through a thick wood which protected the enemy. Of course, Holwell is quite unwarranted (so far as my investigations have gone) in saying that *Prince of the Hatchets* became thenceforth one of the honorary titles of the first Prince of the blood. I have never found it yet attached to the name of Jahandar Shah himself, much less to that of any succeeding Prince of the reigning family, up to the end of the dynasty. Nor was the cutting down of the wood or jungle surrounding an enemy's fortress such an unusual incident of Indian warfare as to call for any special notice or commendation. On the whole, Hol-

well's authority for an etymology does not carry much weight. We owe to him at least two grotesque and spurious etymologies, which are sufficient to discredit him in that branch of linguistics. He is the man who derived *Begam*, بیگم, from *be*, بے, without, and *ghum*, غم, sorrow; and *Marhattah* from *mahā*, great, and *Rahtor*, the name of a Rajput tribe.

But Holwell's story, obtained, as he says, from an Armenian at Patnah, who had been in the Mogul service at Agrah and Dehli, goes to show that the title or epithet given to Jahandar Shah had something to do with the western frontier of India. The campaign in which he is supposed to have earned it took place against the *Boluccais* —*i.e.*, the Balūch. Now, we know through the native historians that from about 1700 up to 1707 Jahandar Shah was Governor of the two frontier provinces of Multān and Tattah (or Sind). One of the chiefs then most prominent in that region was Dīn Muḥammad Abāsi Leṭi, known as the Kalhorah. This is what is said about him and his family in the *Ma,āsir-ul-umarā*, vol. i., p. 825.

In the language of Sind the title of the tribe is Kalhorah. Shekh Naṣīr, who succeeded to the estates about 1657-58, and founded the town of Gārhi, was the first of the family who rose to public importance. After his death his eldest son, Shekh Dīn Muḥammad, Kalhorah, became chief. In 'Alamgīr's reign, the Prince Mu'izz-ud-dīn, *i.e.*, Jahandar Shah, was appointed to rule over the Multān sūbah. When the new Governor marched into Sīwīstān, Dīn Muḥammad, Kalhorah, neglected to appear and pay his respects. Finally, after oaths on the Qurān had been exchanged, Dīn Muḥammad and two relations came in. When the three men had reached the camp, a force was sent out to bring in as captives the remaining men and their families. Yār Muḥammad, Kalhorah, younger brother of Dīn Muḥammad, removing into inaccessible hills all the women and children, made ready for resistance. The Prince's expeditionary force was repulsed. Encouraged by

this success, Yār Muḥammad fortified the passages into the hills and awaited an attack; but the Prince, contenting himself with retaining the three prisoners, retired to Multān. Arrived at that place, he ordered the execution of the three prisoners. Subsequently, by slow degrees, Yār Muḥammad, Kalhorah, increased his power, and secured possession of Sīwīstān. He took from the ancient zamindars Sīwī-darah, a spacious region of Sind adjoining Qandahar, and other districts. Day by day the star of his good fortune rose higher.

One of the compilers of the *Ma,āsir-ul-umarā*, Ghulām 'Ali, Āzād, of Bilgrām, was the grandson and nephew of two men who had been official news reporters in Sīwīstān during Jahandar Shah's government. Ghulām 'Ali himself acted for a time as his uncle's deputy. Thus the affairs of that quarter in that time are, we may presume, truthfully reported in the *Ma,āsir*.

Major-General M. R. Haig, in "The Indus Delta Country," p. 113, relates the same events with slightly differing details. The Dehli Court had ordered an officer called Shekh Jahān to exterminate the Kalhorahs and their chief, Dīn Muḥammad. The Governor of Bhakkar also joined with his troops. The imperialists were met at Garelo, twelve miles south-west of Lārkānā, and seven miles west of Bākrānī, and totally routed, Shekh Jahān being slain. To avenge this defeat Prince Mu'izz-ud-dīn (Jahandar Shah) took the field. Dīn Muḥammad sent in a brother to make submission, whereupon the Prince retired; but some Kalhorah rebels made a raid into Maithila and Uchh, causing him to retrace his steps. Gārhī and other towns belonging to the Kalhorahs were laid in ruins. Dīn Muḥammad eventually surrendered, but Yār Muḥammad, his brother, fled into the mountains. General Haig's narrative is founded chiefly on Captain James McMurdo's "The History of the Kalorah Family of Sind," in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1844), vol. i., pp. 402-430, this, again, being taken

principally from a work called *Wāqi'āt-i-Sind*, written after 1793 A.D., by a faqir whose name is not given. An account of the Kalhorahs will also be found in the *Tuhfat-ul-kirām* of 'Alī Sher (Qāni'); see the Bombay lithographed edition, vol. iii., p. 105, in the chapter entitled "Rule of the Family of the Kalhorahs, descendants of 'Abās" (pp. 102-116).

After this preliminary evidence about the Kalhorahs, the point that I wish to make can now be stated, with some hope of its meeting with acceptance. Having imprisoned and killed the head of the Kalhorah house (Dīn Muḥammad), what is more probable than that Mu'izz-ud-dīn Jahandar Shah was granted or assumed the title of the ruling house, which he considered that he had conquered and destroyed? To sum up, I would suggest that "Jahandar Kulhārā" should be read as "Jahandar Kalhorah," with the meaning of "Jahandar, conqueror of the Kalhorah ruler of Sind," and not that of "Jahandar the Axe" or "Jahandar the Hatchet."

W. IRVINE.

THE NEW INDIAN DECORATION.

By Royal Warrant, dated May 11 last, a new decoration has been instituted and created for distinguished services to the Indian Empire. Rules and ordinances, *inter alia*, to the following effect: (1) The decoration is styled and designated "The Kaisar-i-Hind* medal for public service in India"; (2) any persons, without distinction of race, occupation, position, or sex will be eligible, who have distinguished themselves by important and useful services in the advancement of the public interest in India; (3) there will be two classes, one (first) awarded by the Queen-Empress on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India, and the other (second) class by the Viceroy.

THE PLAGUE IN INDIA, AND HOW TO GET RID OF IT.

A high medical authority in India has written a series of letters to the *Englishman*, Calcutta, on this very serious and important question. He has laid down as an axiom that the "plague is a highly contagious and fatal disease of microbic origin, favoured to a considerable extent by insanitary surroundings, and that rats are a potent factor in the dissemination of the disease." Rats feed on the filth, and, of course, if the filth disappears the rats will also soon disappear. In these letters the deplorable insanitary condition of native dwellings is described, having no regard

* The late Dr. Leitner was the first to suggest this title.—ED.

to cleanliness nor the ordinary laws of sanitation, and hence the author considers that sanitation ought to be made an important question, carried out on Imperial lines. He considers that the measures which ought to be adopted are: (1) anti-plague inoculation, and that all who seek Government appointments should be so inoculated; and (2) complete demolition of existing plague-haunts in native quarters, with a reconstruction of dwellings on approved sanitary principles, and subsequent official supervision. That these measures should be introduced gradually, having, as far as possible, due regard to the prejudices and habits of the people. In order to educate the people such views ought to be widely circulated.

JAPAN.

The British Foreign Office has issued its Consular Report on the foreign trade of Japan for the year 1899. The foreign commerce of that interesting country—whose population now amounts to 44,733,379—entered upon a new stage in the beginning of the year, when radical changes took place. High rates of duty on imports took place, and in July of that year all duties on exports were abolished. Consequently the imports for the first half of that year fell from £15,798,402 to £9,463,360, while the exports rose to £9,079,561, compared with £7,115,805. The importation of raw cotton is rapidly increasing, as also is raw wool. This is occasioned by the increase of native manufacture. The mileage of railways, both State and private companies, has been much increased. The introduction of foreign labour is restricted and left to the discretion of the local authorities, thus stimulating native industry and labour. The largest customer for Japanese goods and products is Great Britain, the value of imports and exports being £15,831,963: the United States £10,426,297, France £3,676,635, Germany £2,185,616.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

Lord Cromer, in his annual report presented to Parliament,* shows that rapid progress has been made in every department in Egypt and the Soudan. The revenue of Egypt for the past year was £E11,415,000 (£E1 = £1 os. 6d.), expenditure £E11,013,000, being a surplus of £E402,000; thus, the revenue has reached during the year the highest yet obtained during British occupation, and there is every prospect, from the various improvements going on, that in future this revenue will rapidly increase. At the end of 1898 the total debt was £103,372,000, of which £7,048,000 was held by the Debt Commissioners, thus leaving £96,324,000 in the hands of the public. But during the past year £323,000—principally domains and Daira—was paid off, thus reducing the debt to £103,049,000, of which £7,494,000 is held by the Commissioners, and £95,555,000 by the public. The administrative reforms in the administration of the fishing operations on Lake Mensaleh—brackish water between Port Saïd and Damietta, covering an area of 600,000 acres—is interesting. Under the old régime the annual income per man of the fishing population did not

* Egypt, No. 1. (1900), Eyre and Spottiswoode, London.

exceed £E5; now it is £E9. Besides this, the fishing industry has been freed from vexatious interference, and the fishermen are allowed to sell their fish at the best market. The imports during the year were £E10,909,000, being £E415,000 in excess of 1898. The Customs were £E2,093,000, being an excess of £E53,000. The revenue from this source has doubled during the past ten years. The exports were £E15,351,000, an increase on the previous year of £E3,546,000. The reservoirs at Assouan and Assiout are being rapidly constructed. The number of men employed at each of those places is about 10,000. The mass of weeds which blocks the channel of the Bahr-el-Jebel between Lake No and Shambe has been removed at a cost of £E10,000.

Slave-dealers and kidnappers have been tried. More convictions have been made during the past year than in the last five years. Education is also progressing both among the Muhammedan and Coptic populations. In short, every department shows satisfactory results. The Dervish power has disappeared, sanitary arrangements have been made which have averted the danger of the plague, and cordial co-operation exists between the Egyptian and European elements of administration. H.H. the Khedive, accompanied by his staff and the Sirdar, visited England at the end of June.

SOUTH AFRICA: ITS PEOPLE AND TRADE.

The most recent authorities give the following figures, which will be of interest to many of our readers. The population of Cape Colony and Bechuanaland is 460,000, of which 265,200 are Dutch, 194,800 British; Basutoland 650, of which 300 Dutch, 350 British; Orange Free State 93,700, of which 78,100 are Dutch, 15,600 British; Natal and Zululand 52,000, of which 6,500 are Dutch, 45,500 British; Transvaal 203,650, of which 80,000 are Dutch, 123,650 British; Rhodesia 10,000, of which 1,500 are Dutch, and 8,500 British—making a total: Dutch 431,600, British 388,400. The aggregate trade of imports and exports for the past five years is £220,000,000. The exports of purely British goods amounted to £62,801,203, and that of British possessions £5,799,783. The rate of quinquennial progress of South Africa, compared with other British possessions, is indicated by the following: Natal 121 per cent., Rhodesia 94, South African Republic 61, Cape Colony 49, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji 40, Dominion of Canada 8, India (including Burma, Straits Settlement, and Ceylon) 0·2. Average for South Africa 71, of other British possessions 16. The ratio of progress in imports alone of South Africa compared with those of our chief colonies and independencies—India, Australia, and Canada—is not less instructive. As against a total for South Africa of £108,000,000, Canada has only an import of £26,000,000, Australia £97,000,000, while the vast continent of India only surpasses South Africa by her £157,000,000 of imports on the five years. We are indebted for these important statistics to the *Canadian Journal of Fabrics*, Toronto, for April, 1900.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; 1900.

1. *Palestinian Syriac Texts.*—These "Texts" in Palestinian Syriac are printed from the palimpsest fragments existing in the Taylor-Schechter collection, and they are edited by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson. The manuscript fragments from which the Texts have been copied are all palimpsests, and they formed part of the great collection of Hebrew parchments so long stored in the Genizeh of the synagogue of Old Cairo, which Dr. Schechter received from the Grand Rabbi of Egypt in 1897. In 1898 those parchments were presented by Dr. Schechter and Dr. Taylor (Master of St. John's College) to the University of Cambridge.

The graphic account given in the Introduction of the way in which these fragments were first discovered is, unfortunately, too lengthy for transcription into our pages. It may here suffice to say that they were picked out from the heap of miscellaneous scraps by Dr. Schechter himself, partly for the sake of the upper Hebrew script, and partly because he suspected the under script to be in Syriac. The fragments were found in what was practically a mere rubbish-heap situated in a lumber-room in an unfrequented part of the above-mentioned synagogue; they were afterwards carefully cleansed with chemicals from the accumulated filth of centuries of dust and damp, and they were then sorted out and placed in proper consecutive order. The task evidently involved infinite patience and a stupendous amount of dauntless painstaking. As the title indicates, the bits of parchment were *literally* "fragments"; they were all separate, excepting such of them as had become stuck together by the moisture of their own decay, and all of them were more or less broken. What this means the specimens given on the plates (eight in number) clearly show. The various scraps of the material on which the manuscripts are written are frayed, worm-eaten, torn, and broken in holes in such a way as to render it impossible to present a complete restoration of the text as it was originally written. In some instances a single word or letter in a line was all that could be procured or deciphered. The fragments are from Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Joel and Hosea (in the Old Testament), and from John, Corinthians, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus (in the New). The distinguished ladies who edit the volume remark: "We feel justified in saying that no earlier specimen of the language" (Palestinian Syriac) "is known than these texts." Each of the fragments is described (as to dimensions, condition, contents, etc.) with loving minuteness, and opposite each page containing the text has been given, for the Old Testament passages, the Septuagint rendering, and for the New Testament passages the Greek text of Westcott and Hort. The fragments add nothing to our knowledge of the Sacred Text of the Canonical Scriptures, nor is the date of the writing ascertained, but they are interesting as *bonâ-fide* examples of palimpsest [illegible] this in diglott, the Syriac beneath and the Hebrew over it—

and as examples of the ancient Palestinian Syriac dialect. The printing and the plates are beautifully executed. Those scholars who have been following the researches of these noble toilers for a series of years past in connection with their discoveries in the Sinai monastery will be interested in this further contribution of theirs to the important work of Biblical learning and antiquities. B.

CHATTO AND WINDUS; LONDON.

2. *Ainslie's Ju Ju*, by HAROLD BINDLOSS. Mr. Harold Bindloss has written another book, under the above title, on that ever-interesting subject the wilds of Central Africa, about which none is better qualified to instruct and interest us, after a life of adventure spent in all parts of the world, notably America, Morocco, and the Canaries, etc., and of late years the less known parts of Africa, Liberia, and the Niger country. His varied experiences have taught him to depend on himself alone, and from amongst the medley of human kind with whom he has been brought in contact he has learned there is good in all, and recognised there is a divine spark in many a degraded being, of whatever colour he may be. A villain may be covered with a white skin, and a heart of gold may beat within the breast of a negro. It is easy to recognise that this book is more or less of a personal narrative. If the various adventures related, the different characters delineated, all genuine types, true situations, complications, misadventures, which have arisen in the course of a long and hazardous life, were better known and appreciated, it would be an easier task to reclaim and civilize "Darkest Africa." It is refreshing to find such types as are here described still existing at the end of this prosaic nineteenth century, which, however, none may dare any longer call "prosaic," after the deeds of daring, the heroic deaths, the patient endurance, of these latest scions of our race. From whatever clime they hail—the snows of Canada, the boundless plains of Australia, or from our most favoured shores—their record is the same, and it seems to us that, in view of recent events, and all the latent qualities of energy and fortitude called forth by the nation's *need*, this love of adventure has induced many a true and noble soul like Harold Bindloss, and many others of that ilk, to undergo hardship and suffering, forego the sympathy of their fellows, all the social amenities of life, and the happiness which might have been their share, which is a thing to be encouraged, since it fosters the feeling of independence and self-confidence that animate the born leaders of men, who make the path easier for the feet of those who come after them. Before us is Africa, the country of the future, awaking from its long night of grossness and superstition, about to enter, under the experience of England, upon a new day, the light of which is already dawning, after the blood-stained clouds of war have lifted, and the land been restored to peace and "liberty for all." The African scenes and colour are vividly depicted; the horrors of the dismal swamp, the wearing vigils, the pestilence that walketh in darkness—all seem to live before us, so that the meagre thread of story might well have been eliminated altogether without detriment to the subject. But perhaps there is a class of readers who cannot be reached without a tale of hardship

and misfortune; but the "Ada Whittinghams" of society are not worth reaching, and the "Constance Hesseldines" (evidently meant as the embodiment of all that is best in women, according to the author's standard) require no such weak dialogues or commonplace situations to make them ready to share the fate of a true man, and there are few indeed who could be brought to care for a man of Antony Glazebrook's character. J.

3. *Greater Canada: The Past, Present, and Future of the Canadian North-West*, by E. B. OSBORN, B.A., with a map. The author has resided in the West for nearly five years, and has endeavoured, in his history, to hit the truthful mean between the pessimism of the unsuccessful settler and the optimism of the migration agent. The work embraces the history of the Yukon discoveries, the fur trade and its company, the North-West, the Far West, past and present, the Far North, the future of the North-West, and stories of the fur trade. The appendices contain the Royal Charter for incorporating the Hudson's Bay Company, the treaties with the Indians, the irrigation plans in the North-West, and chronological tables of North-Western history, and statistics of agricultural products and mineral outputs, including gold, silver, copper, and lead from 1890 to 1898. At the former period the estimated value was $2,608,608, at the latter it was $7,172,766. In regard to the prospectors of the Far West, the author says there are two kinds, "the gambler pure and simple," and the man of business, which is "somewhat hazardous and speculative." The volume will be found interesting and useful to those who desire authentic and reliable information on these vast regions of the dominion of Canada.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND NEW YORK.

4. *The "Oxford English Dictionary" on Historical Principles; founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society.* Edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Vol. v.: *In—Infer.* April 2, 1900. The vast majority of the words treated are of Latin origin or derivation. The only simple word of Old English age is *inch*, ultimately the Latin *uncia*, but possibly adopted in West Germany before the English settlement in Britain, and hence treated in all respects as a native word. The explanation of this word occupies more than two columns—as a measure of length; a unit of rainfall, atmospheric pressure, flow of water; small islands in Scotland; in movements by small degrees and notations, etc. The words of historical interest are carefully and minutely traced between ancient Latin and modern English, which has required minute and recondite research, not only in Old French, but in late and mediæval Latin. This is especially the case with formations which do not occur in ancient Latin, but appear first in Christian authors or philosophical writers, such as Boethius, or were introduced in mediæval times by the Schoolmen. Of numerous words of this class, *e.g.*, of the common word *individual*, no accurate history has been given before. The explanation of this term occupies no fewer than

seven columns. We need not say that the explanation of words and phrases continues to be erudite, highly interesting, and most exhaustive.

GEORGI'S UNIVERSITY PRESS: BONN.

5. *Geschichte Sibiriens und der Mandschurei*, by ALBERT WIRTH. This fascicule of 200 odd pages is a very able *rechauffée* of nearly all that specialists have written concerning "High Asia," from the Yalu River on the frontiers of Korea, to the Vistula and the Danube. In this broad sense "High Asia" may be defined as "those parts of Europe and Asia which were practically unknown to the Romans at the commencement of our era." The original authorities for the earliest period are of course the Greek and Chinese historians, who hold equal quantitative rank in point of specific fact, and qualitative in point of accuracy. There can be very little question that (contrary to the opinion of specialists cited by Howorth) the Huns, the Scythians, and the Hiung-nu were practically re-shuffles of the same hordes of people, under different tribal nuances in the way of leadership. In this first portion of his work Herr Wirth has apparently been somewhat betrayed by the reader or the printer's devil, for there are numerous typographical errors such as might easily mislead anyone not specially acquainted with the subject: thus, *Ineh-tschi* instead of *Yüeh-tschi*, the I having replaced the German equivalent J for Y, and the *ü* having first been transformed into *u*, and then into *n*. Herr Wirth alludes to the doubts I have elsewhere expressed as to the identity suggested by Gibbon of the Avars with the Chinese Jwan-jwan, or "Geougen." I do not know whether Professor Bury in his new edition of Gibbon has touched upon this point, as I noticed quite casually he had done upon the question of true Turkish origin; but, any way, it seems to be a serious misconception, originating, no doubt, with the French Jesuits of the seventeenth century, from whom Gibbon manifestly took his data; and it will be a long time before the error is knocked completely on the head, seeing that such a giant as Gibbon has lent to it the sanction of his illustrious name.

The author skims rather hastily over the history of the Turks and Onigours; but his account of Hungary, Novgorod, Early Russia, and the various Mongol, Kirghiz, Kara-Kirghiz, and Kalmuck empires in Siberia, is intensely interesting, though in many places lacking in clearness. Here, again, it is necessary to bewail irregularities of spelling, which are often the more misleading in that two really different foreign words occasionally resemble each other closely. *Porphyrogenitus*, *Kalmück*, and dozens of other Greek, Latin, Persian, Arab, or Tartar proper names are spelt in two or three different ways, sometimes on the same page. Excellent though the work is, I am disposed to say what I said of Herr Wirth's quasi-namesake Dr. Hirth's *Nachworte* on the Turks: "Reconstruct and re-edit." In one or two places Herr Wirth must be cautioned in the same way that Dr. Hirth has cautioned Richthofen, *i.e.*, for the indiscretion of offering independent opinions in purely Chinese matters. For instance, the syllable *hwan* of the U-hwan or U-wan Tungusis is for some mysterious reason supposed by Herr Wirth to be the Chinese word *fan* "barbarians" which

(apart from the fact that the Chinese tell us the dissyllable was the name of a mountain and tribe) is etymologically impossible on four grounds, both in tone and "series," as well as in initial and final. There is also a regrettable tendency on the part of Herr Wirth to imitate a fault of Dr. Hirth, and suggest the wildest identities on score of sound alone. Thus, having turned the U-hwan into the Ure "or Wo" barbarians, he hints that they may be etymologically connected with the Wo, or Japanese, whose history is given by the Chinese together with that of the U-hwan! And he compares the Tungusic "Dzimu," or "Great Khan," with the mythical Japanese Emperor Jimmu, whose name was *only invented* in the eighth century of our era, and is probably a mere imitation of the name *Shên-wu* arrogated by the Chinese-Tartar Emperor of the North Ts'i dynasty, just as the semi-mythical Japanese Empress Jingo was at the same date supplied with the name *Shên-kung*, borne by the Chinese Empress of that period. Upon the utter untrustworthiness of Japanese early history, I must refer Herr Wirth to the *China Review* for 1899, where the subject is threshed out.

In touching upon these weak points in Herr Wirth's "plan of campaign," I do not disguise from myself that they are of trifling import compared with the general excellence of the whole. The author is not an independent authority on any one issue, and, indeed, he himself states frankly to us his standpoint. E. H. P.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

6. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, by ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., PH.D., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, and Fellow of Balliol. A learned, minute, and an exhaustive history of a literature which, up to a very recent date, was not known, and could not therefore be duly appreciated by the English reader. The volume thus occupies a unique position, as it exhibits in a special way the religion, theosophy, laws, manners and customs of ancient India long before the Christian era, but much of which remain at the present day. It therefore ought to be studied by everyone connected with our administration in India, both civil and military, for it presents in a variety of ways a key to not only specific departments of Oriental research, but also produces materials for the guidance of social and legal administration.

The author has spent more than twenty years of continuous study of his subject, and while very valuable treatises have been published, much new light has been thrown on various branches of Sanskrit literature since their appearance, and the materials thus prepared have enabled the author to produce a historical guide, setting forth in a clear and trustworthy manner the results of research down to the present time, in a very attractive form. In writing his history he has dwelt more on the life and thought of ancient India, which Sanskrit literature embodies, than would perhaps have appeared necessary in the case of a European literature. He has done this partly because this literature, as representing an independent civilization entirely different from that of the West, requires fuller explanation, and partly because, owing to the remarkable continuity of Indian culture, the

religious and social institutions of modern India are constantly illustrated by those of the past.

The volume treats of the Vedic period, the Rigveda, its poetry and philosophy, the Vedas later than the Rigvedic age, the Brāhmana, the Sūtras, the epics, lyric poetry, the drama, family tales and fables, philosophy, and Sanskrit literature and the West. There is a very valuable appendix, throwing light on law, history, grammar, mathematics and astronomy, medicine, arts, and other subjects; also bibliographical notes and an elaborate index.

The quotations given have been carefully selected by the author from the original works. We shall give one example, and regret that our space does not permit us to give more. The following is a poetical account of the nature of the Ātman as given by the *Kāthaka Upanishad:*

That whence the sun's orb rises up,
And that in which it sinks again:
In it the gods are all contained,
Beyond it none can ever pass.

Its form can never be to sight apparent,
Not any one may with his eyes behold it:
By heart and mind and soul alone they grasp it,
And those who know it thus become immortal.

Since not by speech and not by thought,
Not by the eye can it be reached:
How else may it be understood,
But only when one says "it is"?

Referring to *Atman* and *Brahma,* he considers that "these two conceptions are commonly treated as synonymous in the Upanishads. But strictly speaking, Brahma, the older term, represents the cosmical principle which pervades the universe, Ātman the psychical principle manifested in man, and the latter, as the known, is used to explain the former as the unknown."

7. *The Mysteries of Chronology,* by F. F. Arbuthnot. This work contains what the author calls a "proposal" for a new English æra, for which he suggests as the designation "The Victorian Æra." He moreover advocates the commencement of the new "Æra," not from the year of the Queen's birth (1819), but from 1837, the year of her succession. He begins his Preface by describing the book as "this very slipshod work." He is hardly fair to himself in so describing it, for the plan and conception of the work do credit to his ingenuity, while the amount of information he has here brought together does credit also to his industry. It may safely be asserted that no man could have elaborated such a work who was not in love with his subject. He divides English history into positive, probable, and possible. By "positive" the author appears to mean *trustworthy,* and English history of this nature dates back, he thinks, no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. Prior to that date (1501) he teaches that our national annals shade away into the apocryphal

or the mythical. In support of this view he cites the case of the Bayeux Tapestry, of which, though it is said to have been wrought by the wife of the Conqueror, he states that the earliest trustworthy record we have of its very *existence* is as late as the year 1730. But even so, be "History" ever so untrustworthy, we are quite unable to realize the force of this as an argument in favour of giving up "Anno Domini." The idea would never be adopted by the Legislature, nor would it ever be accepted by the nation. It is too fanciful. It would affect all business men and business transactions, and the inconvenience of it would be felt in all banking, shipping, and commerce, and all school-books containing dates would have to be re-edited with the view of educating the mind of the rising generation into familiarity with the new system and its symbols and terminology. For many a day the Old Style and the New would have to be written in all business documents and correspondence in one and the same entry, thus "V.E. 65 (1901)," or some such way.

As to the idea of starting a new "Æra," the author is, to be sure, not without precedent. Occasion has repeatedly been taken in past ages to revise the Chronology, to reform the Calendar, and to re-name the Æra. In most of such instances, however, the movement has arisen from the existence of some marked defect in the systems of time-reckoning, as when there has come to be some more or less serious and inconvenient discrepancy between the solar year and the accepted date. These reforms, however, have not in all instances by any means been inaugurated by the Sovereigns after whom they have been named, nor during their reign, for we understand Mr. Arbuthnot's to be a suggestion for the commencement of the approaching century. The "Christian" Æra (so named) was not instituted by Christ; nor, again, was the "Muḥammadan" Æra founded by Muḥammad. This latter-named Æra was not instituted till many years after Muḥammad's decease, while the phrase "Anno Domini" did not come into use till many centuries after the Gospel narrative had become a matter of history. But we most of us fight shy of drastic reforms, and it may be that the author's suggestion is only a little before its time. On opening the work we expected to come upon a careful review of the various systems of chronology in the past, and of the circumstances under which they were found to be necessary. But not so much as a word do we here find of the well-known "Æras" of Shālivāhan and Vikramāditya—a subject which would have added much interest to the volume. But, in truth, the whole conception (of thus superseding the "Anno Domini" phraseology) is too late in the day—it belongs to a past age; we nowadays are living too fast to entertain such an idea, and all men have matters of much more pressing importance to think about. The "proposal" is too insular and parochial. Other nations would not take to it, and this would give rise to endless complications, and they would in all probability resent it. England would more than ever be laid open to the charge of insularity and isolation.

B.

8. *Innermost Asia: Travel and Sport in the Pamirs* (with maps and illustrations), by RALPH P. COBBOLD, late 60th Rifles. It is difficult, in the short space at our disposal, to give an adequate idea of the value and

importance of this work to British statesmen, travellers, and the commercial community. The author's original object in visiting the vast regions of the Pamirs was sport. He minutely describes his travels and adventures stage by stage. He visited a considerable stretch of country which has never before been seen by an Englishman, and with a single exception, perhaps, has been the only European, other than Russian, who has traversed the banks of the Oxus in the regions of Roshan and Shighnan; and he has thus made public the result of his experiences for the information of those who may desire to follow in his footsteps, or who are interested in the political questions connected with one of the most interesting corners of the world. His route was through Gilgit to the Kilik Pass; over the Pamirs to Kashgar; thence to Vierny, Balkash, Tashkurgan; through the Bartang to Kala-i-Wamar, where he was detained a prisoner on parole, whence, on release, he travelled back to Kashmir. He enters into details as to the Russian position and policy in the Pamirs, and points out, in his opinion, the future of "Innermost Asia," both in relation to Russia, China, and Great Britain.

He tells an amusing story of the etiquette he met with of the Chinese officials. He says: "The Taotai received me very courteously, coming to the door of the yamen to bid me welcome. We then passed through a number of doors, arriving at length at the entrance of his reception-room; and here occurred a delay, which was almost farcical, as neither of us would be the first to enter. It is Chinese etiquette invariably to assume an air of inferiority, and to pretend that you are unworthy to precede your neighbour. So when the Taotai bowed to me and pointed towards the entrance, I in turn repeated his pantomime, and after going through this performance many times I passed it on to another mandarin, and so the performance was prolonged until at last we pushed the Taotai through, and followed him."

His descriptions of his hunting exploits are interesting and amusing. On stalking the wild sheep or *Ovis poli* in Kilik Pass, and hiding behind large boulders, he saw two great sheep coming up the nullah; and seeing that they must pass within fifty yards of him, he sat down and covered the whitest of the two, which he knew would be the largest. "On they came pell-mell until, almost abreast of us, they halted out of breath. My hands were quivering with excitement as I pulled, half expecting to miss from sheer eagerness; but the ram fell dead, and the second beast, pulling himself up, suddenly turned and made off across the ravine. Another shot, a miss this time; but the 200 yard sight was instantly slid up, and a third shot claimed him, thus justifying the reputation of my little Mannlicher, which is indeed in every respect a perfect weapon. My shikari's delight forthwith got the better of him; he became delirious with joy at the sight of so much good meat in front of him, and he seized my hands and kissed them and my feet. Then we went over to see our quarry, measured the horns, spanning them with our hands, and found them both handsome trophies."

From the author's intercourse with the Russian officials, he finds that they are more conversant with our plans and movements in India than we

are ourselves. He says "the fact remains that only a very small minority of our politicians and publicists appear rightly to appreciate the policy of Russia" (the duplicity of Russian methods), "the majority refusing to look facts squarely in the face, to quote a happy phrase, intelligently anticipate events." "The object of Russia in her occupation of the Pamirs was to obtain a vantage-ground from which, time and opportunity offering, a descent might be made on other and more desirable realms. The scheme, brilliant in its inception, was ably developed, and Russia holds the whole of innermost Asia in her hand without having lost a life in the attainment. In itself the Pamirs is a white elephant." However, "As a fulcrum on which to work the lever of expansion, the Pamirs are likely to prove of the utmost possible value, for, commanding Kashgaria on the one side and Badakshan on the other, they afford the means for the acquisition of both." The snare has long been set, and the quarry is at her mercy. At any moment she can seize her prey, and close her hand on what remains of innermost Asia outside the limits she has already set her around her own." And he justly observes: "It is a fact not perhaps generally appreciated, that Great Britain is the largest Mohammedan country in the world! The Sultan of Turkey, known throughout the East as the Protector of the Faithful, the head of the faith and Mohammed's representative upon earth, rules over a population of rather less than 24,000,000, of which the great majority follow Islam. Russia, notwithstanding her sway over more than one-third of Asia, governs a total Asiatic population of merely 19,000,000, of which number less than 8,000,000 are followers of the Prophet; while England, in her Asiatic possessions, has the supervision of 290,000,000 souls, of which 58,000,000 are Mohammedans, who enjoy under her sway greater personal liberty, and are better and more justly governed, than either their Turkish or their Muscovite neighbours. This fact, which is apt to strike the novice as startling in itself, is one which cannot in the interests of our national well-being be lost sight of."

The work is beautifully illustrated with well-executed photographs of persons and places, and excellent maps. In the appendices there is a chronology of landmarks relating to events from 1758 to 1897, two papers on (1) the commerce and (2) the mineral wealth of innermost Asia, the treaties respecting the Russian-Afghan frontier, and the agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with regard to the spheres of influence of the two countries in the Pamir regions; also a bibliography of the most important works which may be consulted on the subject, and a minute and copious index.

KUSHNEREFF AND CO.; MOSCOW.

9. *Ornaments of the Tajiks from the Highlands of Darwaz*, by COUNT A. BABRINSKI. Darwaz, a tributary of Bokhara, stretches from the Darwaz Mountains across the Pyanj to the highlands of Badakhshan. Its inhabitants, of whose industries the learned author gives such an interesting account, are mountaineers of a powerful physique, and are Mussulmans of the Sunni sect. Darwaz is divided into two wide valleys, where trees and vegetation generally are very scarce, but there is a rich zone of grass

along the river Khing-ab to which great herds of sheep and goats are driven during the summer pasturage. Their chief industry is wool-weaving. The book before us contains drawings of fine specimens of carpets, shawls, portions of their dresses, etc. (see Plates I., IV., and VIII.). The patterns on them illustrate ancient ornamental designs that can be traced back to Persian originals. They are remarkable for their beauty and other meritorious qualities, reminding one of the beautiful Kashmir shawls, which are woven in different pieces, and so skilfully joined that the "junction" is imperceptible. Advantage ought to be taken of the aptitude of these people in the various branches of industrial art in the interests of commerce and industry, and the importance of books like that of Count Babrinski cannot be overrated.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

10. *The Romance of Australian Exploring* (with maps and illustrations), by G. FIRTH SCOTT. A remarkably interesting work, not intended as a reference book, but as a pleasant story of some of the brave deeds and adventures of the pioneers of the Australasian world, by whose efforts the boundless wealth of these regions is being developed, and whose adopted sons are now playing an important part in the expansion and consolidation of the British Empire. The maps are very distinct and striking. The following description of the first discoverers of the Brisbane will give an idea of the style and fascination of the writer. Referring to the *Mermaid* (cutter) and Oxley, he writes: "Scarcely was the anchor let go at the entrance to Pumice Stone Channel, when a number of natives were perceived advancing rapidly towards the vessel. One appeared to be very much larger than the others, and of a light copper colour instead of black, and as soon as they came opposite the vessel he hailed the ship in English. A boat was put off, and as it approached the natives danced, shouting round their light-coloured companion. He turned out to be one of a party of men who had left Port Jackson to seek for cedar in the previous March, and had been wrecked on Moreton Island, which lies at the ocean side of Moreton Bay. When found he was quite naked, and daubed all over with red and white paint, and was so excited at meeting some of his own race again that for several hours he could only express himself in disjointed sentences. He explained that he and two other companions had been saved from the wreck of their boat, and that all three had been well and kindly treated by the natives." The information given by this sailor and the friendly natives induced Oxley to persevere in his explorations, which ultimately led to the source of the Brisbane, so named after the then Governor, and later when a township was laid out on its banks, that also took the same name, becoming in subsequent years the capital of Queensland, and one of the richest and most beautiful cities of the continent.

The narration of adventures is more interesting than fiction, and will arrest the attention of all those who take an interest in the continent of Australia and the extension of the British Empire, and whose sons are nobly helping to fight our battles in South Africa.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1900.

11. *The Dhammapada: being a Collection of Moral Verses in Pali*, edited by V. FAUSBOLL. Second edition. The first edition of this work, published in 1855, being exhausted, the eminent Pali scholar, Professor Fausboll, has now issued a second edition of the text with a Latin translation, in a small volume of only ninety-four pages. The notes, which in the first edition more than doubled the size of the book, have been omitted because in the period of nearly half a century that has elapsed since the first edition was published so many works in aid of the study of Pali have appeared that the information contained—not, it must be confessed, in the most convenient form—in those notes is now accessible in dictionaries, grammars, and commentaries of various kinds. The Latin translation has been revised where necessary, though not, as a comparison with the first edition shows, to any very great extent. *Kásáva*, for instance, in i. 9 and elsewhere is now rendered *fulva* instead of *lutea* as formerly; neither word quite expresses the colour. *Khaṇati* in xviii. 247, is now better written *Khanati* (with dental *n*), and rendered *eruit* instead of *lædit*. In xi. 146 *pajjalite sati* is *incendio oriente* instead of *exardescit recordatio;* a decided improvement, though perhaps *passionis*, *libidinis*, or some such word, might advantageously have been added in brackets. Occasionally a revised reading of the text has necessitated a change in the translation, as in xi. 148, where *maranantam hi jívítam* is now read for *maranam tamhi ívanam*, and in consequence in the Latin *finitur enim morte vita* replaces the abrupt *mors(est) vita ejus*. In determining the correct readings a specially valuable feature has been introduced. Not only have "analogy and parallelism" been considered, but the metre has been taken as a guide in determining the correct form of the verses, many of which have evidently been corrupted by careless or ignorant transcribers. This process has had the effect in some cases of restoring archaic forms, in others later forms, and this may give a clue to the text from which the verse is taken. For the "Dhammapada" is really an anthology or cento, composed of passages selected from the Buddhist canonical writings. Much progress has been made in tracing these verses to their origin. Out of the 423 verses of which the work consists, 181 have been found in the Játaka and other Scriptures, and the learned editor hopes in time to find them all, though the bulk of Buddhist sacred literature is so vast that the task somewhat resembles the proverbial search for a needle in a bushel of hay.

In its present form the "Dhammapada" makes an admirable text-book for the use of those who are commencing the study of Pali, and it is with this object that the present edition has been issued in an abbreviated form. The style is simple and easy; it yields a great *copia verborum* for the learner, and the very literal Latin translation—literal even to baldness—affords a valuable guide to the meaning of even the occasionally obscure passages. It may, perhaps, be asked why the translation was not given in English, as in all probability a large majority of students will be better acquainted with that language than with Latin; most native students, in fact, are ignorant of Latin. The editor, moreover, has a very high opinion of our language, which he expresses in the following quaint and striking

words: "As certain as the Roman character will be universal, the English language will in time likewise be the universal language of the world, for it is a well-known fact that in the beginning the Lord took all the languages, boiled them in a pot, and forthwith extracted the English language as the essence of them all"! J. B.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON.

12. *Impressions of South Africa* (third edition, revised throughout), by JAMES BRYCE, M.P. The value of this volume is enhanced by a new prefatory chapter, containing the opinion of the eminent author on the various questions which led to actual hostilities. The text of the Conventions of 1881 and 1884 is also given, with three excellent maps and a minute and copious index.

He says: "The President of the Transvaal and his advisers had a golden opportunity before them of using the credit and power which the failure of the Rising and the Expedition of 1895 had given them. They ought to have seen that magnanimity would also be wisdom. They ought to have set about a reform of the administration, and to have proposed a moderate enlargement of the franchise, such as would have admitted enough of the new settlers to give them a voice, yet not enough to involve any sudden transfer of legislation or executive power." He sums up the position of Britain by saying her legal right rested on three grounds: (1) The Convention of 1884, which entitled her to complain of any infraction of the privileges thereby guaranteed to her subjects; (2) the ordinary right, when her subjects are wronged; and (3) the fact that Britain, as the greatest Power in South Africa, from her territories and otherwise, was interested in preventing any causes of disturbance within the Transvaal, which might spread beyond its borders and become sources of trouble, either among natives or among white men. Hence he concludes, "that Britain was justified in requiring the Transvaal Government to redress grievances," but deprecates haste in resorting to arms, and considers that Britain ought to have waited until the President and his advisers had retired from the arena of administration!

13. *South Africa of To-day* (with illustrations), by CAPTAIN FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps, late special correspondent of the *Times* in South Africa. This important work appeared in 1897, was reprinted in 1898, and now a second edition is demanded. We rejoice to see it, and can only repeat what we said of the work in our notice in October, 1898 (p. 435). The author, from his literary abilities, is well qualified to write on the subject. His two visits to the country enabled him to see it in a most interesting crisis. He describes minutely the relations of the Boers, the Dutch in the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and the Indian immigration in Natal, the condition of British settlers at the time, the trade, agriculture, and the products of the country in gold, coal, iron, and other mineral wealth, as well as a statement of the Jameson Raid and the difficulties which the British had to contend with with the Boers. The work is accompanied with a copious index and excellent illustrations of towns, routes, and places.

WALTER SCOTT, LIMITED; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

The Contemporary Science Series.

14. *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography* (with 176 illustrations and two maps), by J. DENIKER, SC.D. (Paris), Chief Librarian of the Museum of Natural History, Paris, etc. A very interesting and important summary of facts of the human race throughout the world, drawn from no fewer than upwards of 500 authors, with excellent representations of various races, male and female, in all parts of the globe. The object of the work is to give a condensed statement of the essential facts of the twin sciences of anthropology and ethnography. There is an admirable introduction and thirteen chapters covering the somatic, morphological, physiological, ethnic, linguistic, and sociological characters, and a classification of races and peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America, with an appendix of the average height of men under the above classification, and cephalic and nasal indices. The author sums up his investigation as follows: "On examining attentively the different 'ethnic groups,' commonly called 'peoples,' 'nations,' 'tribes,' etc., we ascertain that they are distinguished from each other, especially by their language, their mode of life, and their manners; and we ascertain besides that the same traits of physical type are met with in two, three, or several groups, sometimes considerably removed the one from the other in point of habitat. On the other hand, we almost always see in these groups some variations of type so striking that we are led to admit the hypothesis of the formation of such groups by the blending of several distinct somatological units." It is to these units that we give the name "races." The printing is excellent, and the illustrations are very distinct and striking.

G. C. SHAW, CINCINNATI, OHIO; C. D. CAZENOVE AND SON, LONDON.

15. *A Self-verifying Chronological History of Ancient Egypt, from the Foundation of the Kingdom to the Beginning of the Persian Dynasty: a Book of Startling Discoveries*, by ORLANDO P. SCHMIDT (569 pp., 8vo.). It will readily be inferred from its title that this book is not an ordinary one, but the intending reader need not be discouraged by any fear that its contents are of a purely sensational description. The author has minutely studied all but the very latest published results of Egyptian exploration (which, indeed, moves so quickly now that only an exceptionally fortunate minority of students can be quite up-to-date), and his conclusions, whether accepted or not, deserve respectful consideration.

Mr. Schmidt's main proposition is that the key to Egyptian chronology is to be found in the division of the period of 1,460 years, which is so well known to all Egyptian students, into 365 "days" of 4 years each, and into 12 "months" of 120 years each, with 20 years (or 5 "Sothiac" days) added. Whenever the 120 year epoch arrived, the reigning king, according to Mr. Schmidt, assumed a new title, which had a reference to the supposed position or condition of the sun in the calendar month of which the epoch-month of 120 years was an enlarged representation. "It usually happened," as the author observes, "that the reign of an epoch-

king did not begin with the epoch, but was divided by it into two unequal parts. In such cases we have the reign before the epoch (the epoch-reign according to the Turin papyrus and Eratosthenes), the reign after the epoch (the epoch-reign according to Manetho), and the entire reign. Thus Zet, or Saites, the Sethon of Herodotus, reigned 44 years, of which 6 years were before the Sothiac epoch, 724 B.C., and 38 years after it; all these numbers survive in the lists, and appear as three distinct reigns." This confusion has arisen, according to Mr. Schmidt, partly from the ignorance of copyists, and partly from wilful alterations made by some of them to support special theories. Fortunately, a clue has generally been left by means of which the author, on comparing the various lists, has been able to reconstitute them to his satisfaction; and nowhere has the ingenuity with which he has done this been more brilliantly displayed than in reference to the various dark periods which occurred between the better-known dynasties, and concerning which the more or less mutilated and transposed lists of Manetho, etc., are almost the only information we possess.

With regard to Egyptian antiquity, it is, however, always risky to prophesy until you know, because so much exploration is going on at the present time that something unexpected may turn up at any moment, and ruin the most promising theory. Thus Petrie, who in the first volume of his "History" expressed doubts whether the first three dynasties ever existed in the Manethonic form, has just been able to produce, from his discoveries at Abydos, a connected account of the first dynasty, and of some kings or princes before it; but their names, as found on the newly-discovered monuments, seem to require some further exercise of Mr. Schmidt's peculiar talents to fit them into his scheme, and in his next edition he will also have to find room for Sharu, a king just discovered by Professor Sayce to have reigned between Snefru (who is now relegated to the third dynasty) and Khufu. This, however, may be rather helpful to him than otherwise. Mr. Schmidt's "prediction that when Mena-Athothis established the kingdom over the united countries, about 4244 B.C, the civilization of ancient Egypt had already attained its full perfection, and, further, that this era marks the noonday and not the dawn of civilization," does not seem to be quite borne out by such material fragments of the period as have yet come to hand; but as he says (p. 110) "that the solution of the riddle of the sphinx was reserved for the close of the nineteenth century, so that it might follow immediately after the opening of the sealed book of ancient Egypt, and the advent of the ancient of days in the new world," we may suppose that he considers he has received some special enlightenment on the matter.

One of Mr. Schmidt's startling discoveries is that Noah was not an individual, but an allegorical personification of the Theban Government; and that Shem, Ham, and Japheth were local Governments set up in Egypt by foreign races 100 years before the Flood—that is to say, before the Nyksos invasion, which, in the author's opinion, was what was really meant or typified by the Noachian deluge. These views may be as well founded as any others upon the same subject, but they have no necessary connection with the author's chronological scheme, so that it is quite possible for any reader of his book to accept either, while rejecting the other. Whether,

however, any or all of Mr. Schmidt's conclusions be accepted or rejected, his book displays so much ingenuity and research that it should not be neglected by any student or collector of the literature bearing upon ancient Egypt. A. L.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., WATERLOO PLACE; LONDON.

16. *Southern Arabia*, by THEODORE BENT, F.R.G.S., F.S.A., and MRS. THEODORE BENT, with a portrait, maps, and illustrations. A very readable and highly interesting volume of their travels in portions of Southern Arabia and the Soudan, scarcely ever explored by English travellers. The book is published under a very sad circumstance, as Mr. Bent died four days after their return home from their last journey; hence the burden of producing the work was thrown upon Mrs. Bent, who has performed her task with excellent results. Besides having recourse to ancient authorities for special information in bygone times, the book for the most part is collected from Mr. Bent's note-books, and from the "Chronicles" that Mrs. Bent always wrote during their journeys. The regions explored were Manamah and Moharek, the mounds of Ali, Rufa'a, Maskat, the Hadhramout, Dhofar and the Gara Mountains, the Eastern Soudan, the Mahriplaud of Sokotra, Beled Fadhli, and Beled Yafei. In the authors' narratives and descriptions there is much to interest the English reader, and their routes and troubles, difficulties and discomforts, will form an excellent guide to those who desire to follow in their footsteps. Some of the interviews are rather amusing. At Khaila and Sief, for instance, Mrs. Bent tells us: "We saw among others a boy who had a wound in his arm, and therefore had his nostrils plugged up; bad smells are said not to be so injurious as good ones." Some women came and asked to see me, so I took my chair and sat surrounded by them. They begged to see my hands, so I took off my gloves, and let them lift my hands about from one sticky hand to another. They looked wonderingly at them, and said "Meskin" so often and so pityingly, that I am sure they thought I had leprosy all over. Then they wished to see my head, and having taken off my hat, my hair had to be taken down. They examined my shoes, turned up my gaiters, stuck their fingers down my collar, and wished to undress me, so I rose and said, very civilly, "Peace to you, O women! I am going to sleep now," and retired. We have only space for another scene. On leaving by boat to Aden from the harbour of Kosseir, and looking quietly at the ship being laden off the shore with all manner of things, animate and inanimate, she says, "A man came suddenly behind me and whipped me up, seated me on his shoulder and carried me off into the sea. It required all my balance to keep safe when so suddenly seized. I did not know I was being scrambled for as the lightest person. I hate that way of being carried, with my five fingers digging into the skull of my bearer, with one of his wrists lightly across my ankles, while he holds up his clothes with the other; and I do not like being perched between the elbows of two men whose hands are clasped far beneath me, while I clutch their dirty throats. It is much better to be carried in both arms like a baby."

A very singular natural phenomen is recorded with respect to the water-supply of the islands of Bahrein lying near the Persian Gulf, remarkable for pearl fisheries, now under English protection. "The town of Mohariek gets its water-supply from a curious source, springing up from under the sea. At high tide there is about a fathom of salt-water over the spring, and water is brought up either by divers, who go down with skins, or by pushing a hollow bamboo down into it. At low tide there is very little water over it, and women with large amphoræ and goat-skins wade out and fetch what water they require. They tell me that the spring comes up with such force that it drives back the salt-water and never gets impregnated. All I can answer for is that the water is excellent to drink. This source is called Bir Mahab, and there are several of a similar nature on the coast around, the Kaseifah spring and others. There is such a spring in the harbour of Syracuse about twenty feet under the sea."

The fauna and flora, as well as the other natural productions and scenery of the various regions are pleasantly described. In an appendix there is a list of plants communicated by Mr. Bent to Kew Gardens in May, 1895, and a list of land and fresh-water shells collected by Mr. and Mrs. Bent in Sokotra, as well as inscriptions and other fragments. There is also a list of Sokoteri and Mahri words compared with the Arabic dialect of South Arabia and the literary Arabic, of much interest. The maps and illustrations are distinct and remarkably well executed.

THACKER AND CO., LIMITED; BOMBAY, 1899.

17. *My Jubilee Visit to London*, by SUBADAR MOHAMMAD BEG, SIRDAR BAHADUR, 1st Madras Lancers; translated by K. SRINAVASA RAO, B.A.; edited by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL E. E. M. LAWFORD, 1st Madras Lancers. We have seldom read a book which gave us more genuine pleasure than this simple little Diary of a gallant Madras lancer. It is flattering, no doubt, most people would say far too flattering, to the ruling race: but the flattery is so hearty and so evidently sincere, whilst the criticism is often so friendly and yet so acute, that one cannot but be pleased with both. It may seem absurd exaggeration, but we doubt if any book of its size has ever been published so well calculated to bring about a better feeling between the Indian and the Englishman.

We learn from Colonel Lawford's genial preface that Mohammad Beg, a lineal descendant of the great Tippu Sultan, rose from the ranks of the 1st Madras Lancers after ten and a half years' service, and that "he is one of the most loyal, honest, and devoted soldiers." It is for this reason that he was selected to represent the Madras army at Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee. What inspired him to write a Diary of his trip to England and to put it into language of such fascinating simplicity we are not told, and can only attribute it to his innate kindliness of heart. No wonder the translator (who has evidently done his share of the work most admirably) was "irresistibly drawn to him," and was much struck with his keenness of observation and correctness of judgment." Both author and translator are entitled to the gratitude of everyone, no matter what the colour of his skin may be, who takes a genuine interest in that great though

much-afflicted country. The mere fact that a Brahmin should co-operate with a Mussulman—and on terms of such enthusiastic good fellowship—is of itself most encouraging, and Mr. Srinavasa Rao's reasons for undertaking the task of translating this unique work do him the greatest honour. He was not only much impressed with Mohammad Beg's "breadth of mind and freedom from prejudice," but it was, he says, his "strong conviction that intelligent Indians who have the good fortune of visiting England, and who could form a correct estimate of the great English nation as seen in that land of liberty should do everything in their power to make the Indian public understand them aright." All honour to Mr. Srinavasa Rao for such an admirable sentiment! One is all the more impressed with the strength of his goodwill towards the English when one knows that he and his family have suffered much from what many besides themselves believe to have been grievous injustice at the hands of certain English officials.

As we have said before, the picture of the English is all too flattering; but if such evidently genuine affection for the ruling race can be so easily implanted in the Indian breast, it is a thousand pities we cannot have a jubilee every year and have our Indian fellow-subjects over by the score to be converted!

We have spent so much time over the preface and the translator's introduction that we have very little space left for the Diary itself. Fortunately it is not too long, and there isn't a dull page in it, so that one can read every word of it without fatigue. It is so fresh and so naive that no one who takes it up will lay it down till he has finished it, and no one can read it without feeling the better for it, or without a deeper and fuller sense of the true brotherhood of man.

It would be impossible to give an idea of the peculiar merits of this little book by extracts, but we must call particular attention to a few of the author's remarks which struck us most forcibly. Familiar as he must be with poverty and even famine in his native land, it will surprise many to hear him say of the Italians at Brindisi, that he had "*never seen in his life* a more miserable-looking people"; and yet it is certainly true that *except in the case of actual famine*, which, alas! is far too frequent nowadays, poverty is not so terrible in India as it is in Europe, nor do the people suffer so much from it as they do here. Surely, too, our rule in India cannot be quite so bad as some few say, when a native gentleman can speak of it as our author does at the end of Chapter XIII.

What better proof can be given of the good of foreign travel and of the necessity for Indians to come to England for their education than that given by him at page 51? "The slow, difficult, and, after all, doubtful process of learning by books is nothing compared to the quick and striking way of learning by visits to great countries. The result is truly magical, and one is spellbound. . . . Why fight these jungly tribes? Take them all to England and show them England but once. They will never fight any more."

Mohammad Beg's remarks on male and female dress in England are well worth quoting, and show his usual shrewdness and sound common-sense, though we do not know where he found the "old rule" that men

should "wear black suits in London"; and his "keenness of observation" must indeed be as great as the translator says it is "to be able distinguish between the military, the civilians, and the naval officers by degrees of fatness."

We most cordially recommend this captivating little volume to all lovers of India and England. J. B. P.

CHARLES T. TIMNEL, WYCLIFF HOUSE, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

18. *Two Thousand Miles in South Africa; or, The Transvaal In and Without*, by REV. W. T. MCCULLAGH. This neatly-written volume is dedicated to General Sir George White the hero of Ladysmith, bringing the state of matters in the Transvaal up to April last. In the appendix are the prayer issued by the Primate, his letter, by command of the Queen, to every diocesan Bishop in the province of Canterbury, and Lord Roberts' telegram to the Secretary of State for War, after the defeat of the Boers at Bloemfontein. The author says, "Although there are honourable, humane, educated, and sensible Christian men amongst the Boers, yet, as a rule, they are ignorant, dogged, and determined. Books are rarely to be seen in Boer houses." They "have always hated missionary work among the Blacks, whom they have ever looked upon as little better than vermin, and animals without souls." The reason of Kruger's obstinacy in resisting all reforms was the belief that England would never go to war. He thought "the Liberal party will not permit it, and if the Liberal party permit it, the Queen will never allow it." And since the "Great Trek" in 1839 he has been a persistent and uncompromising enemy of everything British. He became President in 1883, and from that time we may say our great troubles in South Africa began, which have culminated in war." The volume contains very interesting information as to the manners and habits of the people, their places of abode, and the bravery and struggles of our men since the commencement of the war.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Chahár Maqála ("Four Discourses") *of Nidhámí-i-Aríúdí-i-Samarqandí*, translated into English by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London). A volume of nearly 140 pages, being a reprint of papers from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July and October, 1899. The volume contains an interesting preface by the translator, exhibiting the care he has taken in consulting the principal MSS. in the British Museum and otherwise. Mr. Browne gives a short biographical sketch of the author, and an analytical introduction of his four discourses, which treats of a class of men deemed indispensable for the service of kings in his time, viz., (1) scribes or secretaries, (2) poets, (3) astrologers, and (4) physicians. The publication is accompanied with a useful and minute index of persons, places, and books.

The Kasidah (Couplets) *of Háji Abdú Al-Yazdi—a Lay of the Higher*

Law, translated and annotated by his friend and pupil, F. B., by CAPTAIN SIR RICHARD F. BURTON (H. J. Cook, Golden Square, London). This is a limited edition of only 250 copies of Sir Richard Burton's famous work, beautifully printed and got up, and is uniform with the subscribers' sets of the world-famous *Nights*. It consists of forty-two pages, printed on one side of the sheets.

Manual of the Maru Language, by Lieut. W. B. T. ABBEY, 2nd Bombay Lancers (Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press, and Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London, W.C.). The Maru language is as yet unwritten. The Marus are a race of people inhabiting the basin of the Nmaikha River, on the Eastern branch of the Upper Irrawaddy. The country has become important to England because by an arrangement with China the whole country lies within our political frontier. The grammar is very simply constructed, giving (1) the construction of the language, (2) colloquial exercises, and (3) a vocabulary of about 1,000 words. It will prove handy and useful for travellers in this unexplored and unknown region, and officers and others, who may be called upon to administer the affairs of the country now under British rule.

Theal's Little History of South Africa (T. Fisher Unwin, London). This work was written three years ago, in simple language fitted for schools. It has passed through three editions. The present edition brings statistics down to the present date, and contains a short chapter on the origin of the present war. There is also a chronological table of events in South Africa from its discovery in 1486 down to the events in May, 1897.

The Siege of Ladysmith, described in sixty-four pictures from the only complete set of photographs taken during the siege by a resident photographer. These pictures are taken from the first photographs brought to England after the relief of the town, with descriptions in letterpress by H. St. J. TUGMAN, an eye-witness (George Newnes, Limited, London). Defenders, guns, camps, neighbouring mountains held by the Boers, buildings, views of Ladysmith from various points of view, are all described. A highly interesting and well-executed production.

A Zulu Manual or Vade-Mecum, being a companion volume to "The Zulu-Kafir Language" and "The English-Zulu Dictionary," by the REV. CHARLES ROBERTS (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Limited, London). The object of this handy small volume is to throw more light on some of the difficulties of the Zulu-Kafir language, and forms a useful companion to the author's former works. In it will be found botanical and geological terms, as well as those relating to natural history, physiology, disease, sickness, and remedies. The missionary and the traveller will find it a very useful work.

Japanese Notions of European Political Economy: being a summary of a voluminous report to the Japanese Government by TENTEARO MAKATO, Commissioner of Japan to make the investigation. Third edition, revised (John Highlands, Philadelphia; Scottish Single Tax League, 13, Dundas Street, Glasgow). This is a translation and summary of the Japanese's report on his investigations as to the opinions and teachings of European authors on the various questions connected with political economy. The

compendium is valuable as gathering together the opinions of many authorities in England, America, and elsewhere. It shows the intelligence and shrewdness of the Japanese Government in appointing such a Commission for the investigation of such an important and national subject.

Conty's Practical Guide, 112, Rue Auber, Paris.—*The Paris Exhibition of 1900.* This little, handy, and well got-up pocket guide has been specially compiled for the use of English visitors to the Universal Exhibition at Paris. It contains much information, in a brief compass, of the sights of Paris, more particularly of the Exhibition. It has two distinct maps, which will be very helpful to English visitors.

Pocket Guide to Belgium. We welcome this guide-book. It consists of three parts. The one containing the text is printed on white paper, the others in blue and pink, giving hotels, restaurants, many excursions, circular tours by rail and steamers, with numerous maps and illustrations. The volume is published under the patronage of the railway companies. The routes described follow the railway lines starting from Brussels, and the principal cross-lines connecting the chief towns. The volume will be found handy, useful, and interesting to visitors and travellers.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following:—*A List of the Photographic Negatives of Indian Antiquities in the Collection of the Indian Museum, with which is incorporated the list of similar negatives in the possession of the India Office* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1900);—*Imperial Telegraphic Communication*, a Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, May 22, 1900 (Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Companies, 50, Old Broad Street, London);—*Climate*, vol. i., No. 3, a quarterly journal of health and travel by C. F. Harford-Battersby, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Salisbury Square, and Simpson, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (*continuing "Hebraica"*), April, 1900 (University of Chicago Press);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xxx., Part II.;—*The Indian Review*, April (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Indian Magazine*:—*The National Magazine*, New Series, a monthly review, vol. xiii., December, 1899, January and February, 1900 (The Muhammadan Orphans' Press, Calcutta);—From George Newnes, Limited, London: *The Strand Magazine* for April, May, and June—*The Captain* for April, May, and June—*The Wide World Magazine* for April, May, and June—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for April, May, and June—*Tit-Bits*, weekly—*The Royal Atlas*, Parts 19, 20—*The Arabian Nights*, Parts 16-19—*Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, Parts 5, 6;—*Khaki in South Africa*, Part I., to be completed in about 12 fortnightly parts;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Rivista Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Co., London);—*The National Review* (E. Arnold);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (A. Constable and Co.,

London);—*The North American Review*, April, May, and June (New York);—*The Madras Review* (Thompson and Co., Minerva Press, Madras);—*Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*Revue Tunisienne*, organe de l'Institut de Carthage, April (Tunis);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Die Kultur*, vol. i., No. 4, April, 1900 (Vienna and Stuttgart);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* vol. xxxi., Parts V.-VII. (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund*, Quarterly Statement, April, 1900 (38, Conduit Street, W.);—*The Light of Truth; or, Siddhanta Deepika*, March, April, May, 1900 (Black Town, Madras).

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For want of space we regret we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *In Moorish Captivity: an Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus*, 1897-98, by H. M. Grey (Edward Arnold, London);—*Leading Points in South African History*, 1486, to March 30, 1900, by Edwin A. Pratt, author of "Pioneer Women in Victoria's Reign," etc. (John Murray, London, 1900);—*Four Months Besieged: the Story of Ladysmith*, being unpublished letters from H. H. S. Pearse, the *Daily News* special correspondent (Macmillan and Co., Limited, London and New York, 1900);—*The Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, by Geo. E. Boxall (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London;—*The Practical Study of Languages: a Guide for Teachers and Learners*, by Henry Sweet, M.A., PH.D., LL.D. (J. M. Dent and Co., London);—*Notes on the Law of Territorial Expansion, with especial reference to the Philippines*, by Carman F. Randolph, of the New York Bar (The De Vinne Press, New York City);—*Below the Surface*, by Major-General Fendall Currie, barrister-at-law, late Commissioner in Oudh (Archibald Constable and Co., London, 1900); *Voices in the Night*, by Flora Annie Steel, author of "On the Face of the Waters," etc. (William Heinemann, London, 1900);—*A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics of the Fourth Century*, B.C., with introductory essay and notes, by Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A. (printed and published under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society, and sold at 22, Albemarle Street, London, 1900);—*Facts and Fancies about Java*, by Augusta de Wit, second edition (The Hague: W. P. van Stockum and Son; London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Civilization of India*, by Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. (J. M. Dent and Co., London);—*British America*, with two maps, "The British Empire Series," vol. iii. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Limited, London, 1900);—*The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, including that of *The French Traders of North-Western Canada, and of the North-West, XY, and Astor Fur Companies*, by George Boyce, M.A., LL.D. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London);—*L'arabo parlato in Egitto*, by Carlo Alfonso Nallino, professore nel Regio Istituto Orientale di Napoli (Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, 1900).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—Lord and Lady Curzon left Calcutta on March 25 on a tour to the North-West Frontier. His Excellency held a Durbar at Quetta, and addressed the chiefs and sirdars, amongst whom were the Khan of Khelat and the Jām of Las Bela. They met with a very cordial reception.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb has announced that in addition to the money spent in archæological conservation, he intended to make moderate contributions from the public revenues for the repairs of famous mosques and temples, still in daily use, in cases where the worshippers were unable to meet such repairs.

Representations have been made by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce to the Government that the coinage has not kept pace with public requirements, and that it is difficult to obtain rupees in exchange for currency notes, while discount is also charged when sovereigns are offered in exchange for rupees, thus seriously affecting the interests of commerce and of the State.

The revenue for the present year has been estimated at £68,549,000, the previous financial year having amounted to £67,595,815.

The expenditure for the current year will be £65,876,663, against £64,954,942 in 1898-99. Thus the surplus for this year is estimated at £2,672,398, against £2,640,875 last year. The gross receipts from railways will, it is estimated, be £14,464,130, as against £13,075,980 in 1898-99.

The Post-office, Telegraphs, and Mint should be answerable for a sum of £2,466,356, against £2,048,535 in the previous year.

The estimated expenditure on the relief of famine is £2,053,217, against £26,703 expended in 1898-99.

The estimate for the Indian army is £14,990,207, against £16,001,326 last year.

The celebration of the Queen-Empress' birthday was made the occasion for a very fervent expression of loyalty, coupled with general rejoicing over the relief of Mafeking.

The following table will show the number of persons in receipt of relief at the time we go to press: Bombay, 1,181,000; Panjāb, 162,000; Central Provinces, 1,951,000: Berar, 444,000; Ajmir Merwara, 114,000; Rajputana States, 516,000; Central India States, 201,000; Bombay Native States, 512,000; Baroda, 99,000; North-West Provinces, 2,000; Panjāb Native States, 36,000: Central Provinces Feudatory States, 68,000: Haidarabad, 461,000; Madras, 19,000; Kashmir, nil; Bengal, 6,000: total, 5,802,000.

Over 5,000,000 marks have been forwarded to the Viceroy by His Majesty the Kaiser, as Germany's contribution to the Indian Famine Fund. The King of Siam has also sent a contribution of Rs. 5,000, and expressed his sympathy with the sufferers. Hong Kong has made a handsome donation of Rs. 30,000.

A sum of 58 lacs has been distributed from the Famine Fund in India,

principaliy in gifts for the purchase of cattle and seeds. The Government has allotted 75 lacs in repayable advances.

Plague riots occurred during April at Cawnpore. Troops were called out, and several constables and people lost their lives.

By a royal ordinance a new order has been established, called the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal (see our note, p. 191). There have been already 33 recipients of the gold medal and 81 of the silver medal, nearly all being public servants or private individuals who have done good service in famine and plague work.

Great satisfaction has been expressed at the proposed early reduction of the telegraph rate between India and England to half a crown a word.

The formation of two Moplah regiments in the Madras command has been sanctioned. (The Moplahs make good soldiers when they have submitted to discipline.)

The monsoon has not yet established itself.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—Some unrest still exists among the Waziris, as no responsible maliks exist who can control the bad characters among the tribe, so that all the regular troops cannot be withdrawn from the Tochi Valley until it is decided what policy should be adopted.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—A son and heir has been born to Sir Mansinghji Sursinghji, K.C.S.I., the Thakore Sahib of Palitana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has appointed Captain Keki M. Mistri to be guardian to the heir-apparent (H.H. Ticca Sahib).

The Government of the Nizam has borrowed some 80 lacs of rupees from the Exchange Banks on six months' bills at 5 per cent.

The ceremonies in connection with the marriage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore were very successful. The Governor of Madras, Lieutenant-General Sir George Wolseley, and staff, with many other civil and military personages, were present.

BURMA.—After the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission had left, the Laos burnt a portion of Meng-tun, where Major Kiddle and Mr. Sutherland were murdered. The Shan peasants are likely to emigrate.

The value of private imports into Burma for the year ending March 31, excluding treasure, was 1,081 lacs, as compared with 1,176 lacs for the preceding year. The exports represented 1,831, against 1,646 lacs.

BALUCHISTAN.—A telegraph-office was opened at Nushki, on the Quetta-Seistan route, in May. The line will probably be continued across the desert to Nusratabad.

PERSIA.—His Majesty the Shah is now (July) on a tour in Europe, and is expected in England as a guest of the Queen this month.

A new passport law has been put into force throughout Persia, which provides that every traveller must show his passport on entering the country. If the passport does not contain the *visa* of a Persian Consular officer, the holder must pay the fee for the *visa*, which amounts to about five shillings.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir, in a recent letter on the subject of Russian aggression, said he must inform the Government of India that the present is a time for deeds and not for talk.

His Highness is in Kabul in good health, and everything is quiet. Sirdar Habibullah Khan has returned to the capital from Jallalabad.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—It is reported that the strength of the Russian garrison at Kushk, north of Herat, is about 3,000 men.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—Fiscal persecution, systematically applied, has procured for Islam nearly 500 Armenian converts in the sanjak of Hekkiari, and similar tactics are being followed in Kharput and Diarbekr.

Ismail Kemāl Bey, who was lately appointed Vali of Tripoli in Barbary, being convinced that foul play awaited him there, has refused the appointment, and through the intervention of the Ambassadors has obtained permission to retire to Europe with his three sons.

An Imperial *Iradé* has been promulgated granting the three following points: The cessation of the difficulties exceptionally created in regard to the Armenians; the preservation of the rights of the Armenians in Turkey, including the election of the Catholicos of Sis; the remission of the arrears of the military tax in the case of the Armenians who have suffered misfortune, and the granting of facilities for the payment of the tax in future. The Patriarch has been ordered to resume his ecclesiastical functions.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—On April 28 Kudat was raided by 200 natives, who captured the powder magazine and a Maxim; several persons were killed and wounded. Subsequently the magazine and gun were recaptured by the police under Mr. Malcolm: 20 raiders were killed, and several prisoners taken.

Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., the Governor, has arrived at Kudat from Sandakan with reinforcements under Commandant Harrington.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The new harbour at Singapore has been renamed Keppel Harbour, in honour of Admiral the Hon. Sir H. Keppel.

Sir F. Swettenham, with Mr. Hore, the Administrator of the Chinese in Malaya, have proceeded to Hong Kong and Wei-hai-Wei to report to the Imperial Government on the administrative methods to be adopted.

CHINA.—On May 3 an attack was made on the two camps of the Wei-hai-Wei Boundary Commission. Major Pearse and four men of the British-Chinese regiment were wounded. The assailants were repulsed, with a loss of thirty killed. The Chinese regiment behaved well. The disturbance was probably connected with the taxation instituted by the British Administration, and the action of the Chinese officials in inciting the natives against the British. The Taotais Li and Yen and Captain Litz have been rescued by the Chinese regiment; the Chinese troops, which had been sent to release them, arrived after their release by the former. The natives are now becoming quiet and friendly.

The "Boxer"* anti-foreign movement has attained alarming proportions. A serious anti-Christian outbreak has occurred in the district between Paoting-fu and Peking. There has been great destruction of property, and many native Christians have been murdered. (The "Boxers" are a gang of Hooligans, who disguise their looting raids under the mask of religion and politics. Fostered by Chinese officialdom during their two years of existence, they have increased in power.)

* See our article on the "Boxers."

On May 21 the Diplomatic Body at Peking addressed a conjoint Note to the Tsung-li-Yamên, calling on the Government to suppress the "Boxers" and the anti-foreign propaganda.

Chinese troops were thereupon sent to the disturbed districts, with instructions to rigidly suppress all agitation; but the rebellion having increased, and the destruction of railway property and massacre of native Christians continuing, a force composed of 356 British, American, Italian, French, Russian, and Japanese officers and men was sent into Peking.

The attitude of the Chinese Government towards the insurgents is apparently one of friendliness. Prince Ching, President of the Tsung-li-Yamên, has been superseded by Prince Tuan, father of the Crown Prince, and a powerful supporter of the "Boxers."

A relief column, consisting of foreign troops, under Admiral Sir E. Seymour, left Tien-tsin for Peking, but owing to the complete destruction of the railway it is isolated half-way. The Chinese are now bombarding Tien-tsin, and a relief force has been sent there from Taku. Chaos reigns in Peking, and it is reported that all the Legations have been destroyed and the German Minister killed. The Ministers are unable to communicate with the Admirals and other officers in charge of the relief column.

On June 17 the Taku Forts opened fire on the combined fleets, which returned the fire and blew up two forts, and carried the other by assault.

An expeditionary force, consisting of six battalions of native troops from India, under the command of Genl. Sir A. Gaselee, is proceeding to China.

KOREA.—An agreement has been concluded between Russia and Korea whereby the latter grants to Russia a site for a coal depot and a naval hospital at Masampho Harbour, and pledges herself not to alienate the island of Ko-je-do at the mouth of the harbour.

JAPAN.—The attitude of the Government in regard to the "Boxer" movement is to co-operate with the European Powers on the spot.

EGYPT.—His Highness the Khedive left Alexandria on June 2 on a European tour. He arrived in England for a stay of about ten days on June 21, attended by Sir R. Wingate, Sir R. Rodd, Hassan Pasha Assem, Zeki Pasha, and De Martino Pasha.

The Government has asked the Great Powers to give their assent to the issue of £1,700,000 preference stock for the improvement and extension of the Government railway system.

The Nile is rising steadily.

SUDAN.—Major Peake, who has been engaged in opening the White Nile, has reported that whilst he was in the Lado region he met Commandant Chaltin, of the Congo Free State Military Service. He went as far as Lado in a gunboat, and thence proceeded in the Uganda launch to Gondokoro, Rejaf, and Fort Berkeley, one of the northern posts of the Uganda Protectorate.

The river appears navigable for gunboats up to Bedden. The clearing of the *sudd* has now been completed in accordance with the wishes of Sir William Garstin, the Under Secretary of State for Public Works.

EAST AFRICA.—The causes of the Uganda railway strike were disaffection at the dilatoriness of the Pay Department, the insufficiency and discomfort of the accommodation provided for the employés, the bad quality

of the rations, and the arbitrary detention of supplies in transit over the line.

Sir H. H. Johnston, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner in Uganda, has drawn up a draft agreement with the Regents and chiefs of the country. The frontiers of the kingdom of Uganda, as distinct from the Protectorate, are defined. The King will in future receive an allowance from the Government, and salaries will be paid to the Prime Minister, the Chief Justice, and the Treasurer of the King's revenues. A new Native Council will be appointed and a definite system of taxation drawn up. The chiefs seem to be favourably disposed towards these projected changes.

CAPE COLONY.—Mr. Schreiner tendered the resignation of his Ministry on June 13. Sir J. Gordon Sprigg then formed a new Cabinet, with Mr. Rose-Innes as Attorney-General. This will be supported by Messrs. Schreiner and Salomon and their followers.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The last news we recorded on going to press in our last number was the entry of Lord Roberts into Bloemfontein, and the opening of regular train service between that place and the Cape, *vi* Bethulie.

The annexation of the Orange Free State was proclaimed on May 28 at Bloemfontein by the Military Governor, General Pretyman, under the name of the Orange River Colony.

General Joubert died at Pretoria on March 27.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Several isolated Boer commandos have been giving trouble in the colony. Their number in the Bethlehem district is stated to be 7,000. Generals Rundle and Brabant are opposing them. Another large commando of Free Staters under Commandant de Wet destroyed several miles of railway north of Kroonstad, thus interrupting Lord Roberts' communication. General Kitchener and Lord Methuen engaged the commando at Rhenoster River on June 11, and gained a complete victory, taking their camp and scattering them in all directions.

A Boer force attacked Roodeval on June 7 and surrounded and overpowered the 4th (Militia) Battalion of the Derbyshire regiment, a total of about 650, including killed, wounded and prisoners.

One thousand five hundred Boers have surrendered to General Brabant in the Ficksburg district.

In an engagement at Rooikrantz Commandant Olivier was killed and General de Villiers mortally wounded.

TRANSVAAL.—The British invasion of the Transvaal began on May 24, when Lord Roberts' army crossed the Vaal River at Parys. Colonel Henry's mounted infantry occupied Vereeniging.

The enemy had prepared several positions where they evidently intended to oppose us, but all were abandoned on the approach of our troops, during which advance Generals French and Hamilton had some sharp fighting on the Rand.

Johannesburg surrendered on May 31, and Lord Roberts entered it with his army the next day. The number of British prisoners released was 148 officers and 3,039 men; about 900 others were taken away by the Boers to Nooitgedacht.

On nearing Pretoria the enemy under General Botha resisted our advance,

but after a twelve hours' fight was defeated and Pretoria occupied. Mr. Kruger fled to Machadodorp, whither all the stores were carried from Pretoria for removal to Lydenburg, which had been selected as the seat of the Boer Government.

After the surrender of Pretoria General Botha retired fifteen miles east on the Middelburg road, where Lord Roberts attacked him on June 11, and drove him eastward.

WESTERN FRONTIER.—Mafeking, which under Colonel (now Major-General) Baden-Powell had withstood a siege of seven months, was relieved on May 17 by a flying column from the south, under Colonel Mahon, which had been joined two days previously by Colonel Plumer's force from the north. Nine miles from the town they were opposed by 1,500 of the enemy, who after five hours' fighting were driven off. On reaching the town the combined relieving and invested forces attacked and drove the Boers from their laagers.

Sir Charles Warren, with 700 men, were surrounded at Faberspruit on May 30 by 1,000 rebels The enemy were repulsed.

Colonel Mahon's force entered Ventersdorp on June 9, and is now close to Potchefstroom.

Colonel Plumer is advancing along the Elands River.

Sir A. Hunter has completed the pacification of the Marico, Lichtenburg, and Bloemhof districts. He has now received the surrender of Klerksdorp together with General Cronje.

Major-General Baden-Powell is administering the Malwani and Zeerust and Rustenburg districts, and has already received the submission of nearly a thousand burghers. He has paid a visit to Pretoria.

NATAL AND EAST FRONTIER.—On May 12 General Buller advanced on the Helpmakaar Road, occupying Dundee and Glencoe on the 15th, and Newcastle on the 17th. His advance had been delayed on account of the destruction of the railway. The enemy were found to be in considerable force about Laing's Nek and Majuba, which were bombarded by Genl. Clery.

Fighting occurred from June 6 to June 9, which resulted in the capture of Botha's Pass and the entrance of the army into the Orange River Colony. The enemy, seeing that their positions were turned, retired on Standerton, which place Generals Hillyard and Clery are now nearing. The Boers are estimated to be 8,000 strong, and commanded by Generals Christian Botha and Lucas Meyer.

General Lyttelton received the formal submission of the town and district of Wakkerstroom.

WEST AFRICA: KUMASSI.—On March 31 Sir F. Hodgson sent a detachment of constabulary to make an attempt to obtain the "golden stool," which failed. In the meantime opposition was organized at Kumassi when it was too late to recall the detachment, and a collision occurred, in which several were killed and wounded. Kumassi is still closely invested by the Ashantis. A relieving force reached there, making the total number of troops about 450; 450 others were between Cape Coast and Prahsu, and 500 more were on their way from Jebba.

Disaffection has spread among the northern tribes; Kings Tachie and Cudjoe of Accra have been approached by the Ashantis.

At the end of May the advance guard, a relieving force under Lieut.-Colonel Willcocks, commanded by Captain Hall, was repulsed at Kokofu, and withdrew to Esumeja. Colonel Willcocks, at Prahsu, cannot move for want of carriers. The river Prah is in flood and hinders transport. Lieutenant Slater was also defeated and killed near Kwisa. On June 6 Colonel Wilkinson from the south, and Captain Hall from the north, joined forces, but were repulsed with 100 casualties at Dompoassi.

The latest advices from the Governor of Gold Coast, dated Kumassi, June 4, is that the garrison is composed of 700 native troops under the command of Major Morris, who entered the town from the north. Europeans and all the troops are on half-rations; their state of health is good, but the native community is in a state of destitution.

The Central Sudan expedition, under Bishop Tugwell, has safely arrived at Ukusu, a place 420 miles in the interior from Lagos, and 180 from Kano, which was expected to be reached about last April.

MOROCCO.—Sid Ahmed ben Musa, the Grand Vizier, who has absolutely ruled Morocco for the past six years in the name of the young Sultan Mulai Abdul-Aziz, died on May 13 last in the city of Marakesh. Haj El-Mukhtar Walid Abdullah ben Hamed has been appointed Grand Vizier. Abd-es-Salām el Tasi, the Minister of Finance, is dead.*

ALGIERS.—A geologist has examined a tract of country, 120 miles in length, in Oran, proving that it is exceedingly rich in petroleum, resembling the rich districts of Baku and Galicia.

CANADA.—An attempt was made on April 21 to destroy, by means of dynamite, a lock on the Welland Canal, the connecting link between Lakes Erie and Ontario, and much damage was done.

On April 26 a terrible fire broke out at Hull, closely adjoining Ottawa, and spread to the capital itself, while it destroyed an enormous amount of property. It was overcome the following day, after having destroyed the whole city of Hull and burned out a large area of the western part of Ottawa. Fifteen thousand persons were rendered homeless, while some lives were lost. The damage is estimated to exceed £3,500,000.

In the Commons Sir W. Laurier and Sir C. Tupper both spoke of the fearful nature of the calamity, and commended the vote of £20,000 which had been passed for the relief of the sufferers as one which the entire country would endorse. A relief fund has also been raised by the Lord Mayor of London.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Last April's Budget showed that the revenue for the fiscal year is the largest in the history of the colony. The surplus of $95,000 is the first *bonâ-fide* surplus for twenty years. The outlook for the future was never better. The totals of the seal fishery are 350,000 seals, the value of which is $600,000, the largest since 1882.

The official organ of the Bond Ministry strongly advocates union with Canada.

Mr. Reid, the great concessionaire, has quarrelled with Mr. Bond's Government, and has stopped all industrial work except what is obligatory under his contract.

* See our article, p. 63.

JAMAICA.—The final decree transferring the Jamaica railway to the Government was made in April by Chief Justice Livingstone.

AUSTRALIA.—In April last Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to the Governors of the Australian colonies, setting forth objections to the clause of the Commonwealth Bill restricting the right of appeal to the Privy Council, pressing for amendment of the clause, and stating that it was the earnest desire of the Government that such an amendment might be carried out in the way most agreeable to Australian sentiment. To this the Premiers replied that the postponement of the Bill would be more objectionable than its amendment. They did not dispute the Imperial right to amend the Bill, but urged that the voice of Australians should receive the consideration which a weighty *referendum* demanded. They were not authorized to accept amendments. Popular feeling favours Mr. Chamberlain's amendment. The right of every subject to appeal to the Queen for justice is a principle of the constitution of the Empire, and unless the Bill were amended Australia would be deprived of this great privilege.

In May the Premier of Perth introduced a Bill proposing that the Bill, as amended by a conference of Premiers, should be submitted to the people. After a second reading of the Federal Enabling Bill in the Western Australia Legislative Assembly on June 3, it was decided to fix the date of the *referendum* on the Commonwealth Bill for July 24.

Public opinion throughout Australia is strongly opposed to subjecting the right of appeal to the Privy Council to the consent of the Executive Governments.

A British Protectorate over the Tonga Islands was proclaimed by Mr. Basil Thompson, the British Commissioner at Tonga, on May 19, and at Nine Island on April 21. Sites for a coaling-station and a fortified port have been secured at Vavan Harbour.

The revenue of New South Wales for the last eleven months of the financial year shows an increase of £445,547 on the figures of the corresponding period of the preceding year.

The Tasmanian Parliament was opened on April 24. The Governor, in his speech, expressed his pleasure at the loyalty of the Tasmanians in sending troops to South Africa. He also congratulated the colony on its continued prosperity.

NEW ZEALAND.—The receipts for the past year show the following increases on the previous year: Customs, £142,550; stamps, £81,500; land and income-tax, £8,920; beer duty, £4,080; railways, £156,100; registration fees, £550; marine revenue, £2,330; miscellaneous, £9,500. There is a decrease in the territorial revenue of £11,570. The following increases in the Customs department are to be noted: spirits, £29,200; tobacco, £12,850; sugar, £11,240; goods *ad valorem*, £68,400; goods by weight, £10,900; other duties, £9,960.

SAMOA.—It is anticipated that Germany will have trouble in dealing with the natives in Upolu and Savaii. Mataafa expected a kingship under German sovereignty, and is greatly annoyed at his failure to secure it.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of the following.—Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart (one of the most distinguished Anglo-Indian soldiers of the reign.—Colonel J. H. S. James late R.A. (Afghan war 1879).—Colonel L. B. Bance, Indian Staff Corps retired (Bellary 1858, Afghan war 1880, Burma 1887-88);—Mr. Archibald Forbes, the well-known war-correspondent.—Mr. A. H. Gunter, C.S., District Judge of Peshawar.—Major R. Molesworth, a Military Knight of Windsor (Crimea);—General H. Renny, C.S.I., late 51st Regt. (Mutiny Sittara expedition 1858);—Colonel I. Knowles, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny campaign, Egypt 1882);—Captain and Brevet-Major A. W. C. Booth, 2nd Northumberland Fusiliers, in South Africa (Ilorin campaign, Nigeria);—Colonel John Briggs (Crimea, Mutiny).—Lieutenant-Colonel R. P. Pennefather, R.E., Madras (Abyssinia);—Mr. J. G. Cordery, C.S.I., late I.C.S.;—Colonel W. R. Duellyn, late R.A. (Abyssinia).—Lieutenant-General H. Wray, C.M.G., late R.E. (Japan 1854);—Commander G. Gore Browne, R.N., D.S.O. (West Coast of Africa).—Sir Antonio Money, British member of the Caisse of the Public Debt (for 35 years in the Indian Civil Service);—Captain P. A. Scott, R.N. (Antarctic expedition 1830);—Rear-Admiral H. Campion, C.B. (Crimea),—Major-General H. J. Bell, late 105th Regt.;—Diwan Bahadur Manibhai Jasbhai, a distinguished member of the Gujarati Hindu community;—Captain W. P. Dimsdale, 2nd Batt. Royal Irish Rifles (Tirah):—General J. W. S. Smith, C.B. (Crimea):—Major C. F. Sprenger, Cape Mounted Rifles (Galeka and Gaika campaigns 1877-78, Basutoland 1880-81);—Colonel W. M. Dunbar, late 34th and 24th Regts. (Crimea, Mutiny, Kaffir war 1878).—Major-General F. M. Haultain, late Madras Staff Corps (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844-45).—Major F. T. Jones, late of the Buffs (China 1860):—Sir Jacobus P. de Wet, formerly Solicitor-General at the Cape, afterwards Chief Justice in the Transvaal in 1880-81, and latterly acting Chief Justice of Ceylon;—Mirza Hassan Ali Khan, the Amir Nizam, the oldest and ablest of the Shah's Ministers;—Sir N. John Hannen, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for China and Japan;—General J. A. M. Macdonald, C.B., late Bombay Staff Corps (Persia 1857, Central India 1859, etc.);—Sir John Hawkins Hagarty, formerly Chief Justice of Ontario;—Sir Francis Marindin, K.C.M.G., R.E., Senior Inspector of Railways:—Captain F. L. Prothero, 1st Batt. Welsh Regt. (Tirah expeditionary force 1897-98);—Colonel E. Y. Peel, formerly 85th Foot, afterwards British Consular Service:—General Sir R. Wilbraham, K.C.B., (Syria 1840-41, Crimea);—The Zamorin of Calicut;—Haji Abdul Hussein of Shiraz, head of the Bombay Persian community;—Captain A. B. Bennet, Royal Warwick Regt. (Burma 1887-88);—Colonel R. Reid, late 98th Regt. (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Eusofzai frontier 1858);—Lieutenant-General J. E. T. Nicolls, late R.E. (Gwalior campaign 1843-44, Sutlej 1845, Mutiny campaign);—Major-General T. B. M. Glascock, late 1st Bengal Cavalry (Mutiny campaign, Bundelkhand, Bhutan campaign 1865-66, Afghan war 1878-80);—Colonel R. Ouseley, Bengal Army, retired (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Mutiny campaign);—Mr. R. W. Liebschwager, Indian P.W.D., and Deputy Sheriff of Bombay; Sir R. T. Goldsworthy, late Governor of the Falkland Islands (Mutiny,

Central India) :—Major J. W. D. Adair, late 5th Regt. (Mutiny campaign); —The Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Ahmadi, formerly on the Gwalior Council ;—H.H. the Rana Sahib of Porbandar ;—Colonel A. S. L. Hay, C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Oude 1858-59) ;—Major-General H. R. Hope, C.B. (Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1886-89) ;—Commander the Hon. W. Grimston, R.N. (Egypt 1882) ;—Colonel Cuthbert Barlow, late Lancashire Regt. (Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny campaign) ;—Colonel W. A. H. Hare, R.E. (special service Turkey, Syria, and Cyprus) ;—General Lord Mark Kerr, G.C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign) :—General C. C. Drury, Bengal Staff Corps :—Major-General J. F. Richardson, C.B., Bengal Army Multan 1848, Burma 1854-56, Mutiny campaign) ;—Captain L. Barstow, R.N. (China 1853-56) :—Brigadier-Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel W. Center (Lahore Medical School) ;—Captain D. G. Seagrim, Royal Garrison Artillery (Burma 1885-89, Zhob Valley expedition 1890, Isazai Field Force 1892, Waziristan 1894-95) :—Professor W. Vasilev, Professor of Chinese at St. Petersburg and an authority on Buddhism ;—Colonel Sir D. Davidson, K.C.B., late Bombay Army ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir F. T. A. Hervey-Bathurst (Crimea) :—Captain T. A. Fischer, 22nd Madras Infantry (Burma 1885-89) :—Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. Hayes, late R.A.M.C. (Afghan war 1878-80, Sudan 1889) ;—Lieutenant Colonel J. C. G. Price, formerly Bengal Artillery (Mutiny campaign) ;—Major W. H. Allen, I.S.C. (Afghan war, North-West Frontier of India, Masud Waziri expedition 1881, Sudan 1885, North Frontier of India, Lushai and Chin-Lushai expeditions 1889-90, Isazai 1892, Chitral relief 1895) ;—Captain J. M. Middlemist, Deputy Inspector-General of the Gold Coast Constabulary ;—Surgeon-Major T. A. P. Marsh (Burma 1885-87) ;—Mr. C. H. Crauford, C.M.G., lately Sub-Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate :—Colonel J. Rogers, C.B., A.S.C., Director of Supplies of the Egyptian Army (Egypt 1882, Sudan 1884, Dongola 1898) :—Sir G. A. Parker, late Madras Civil Service ;—Miss Mary Kingsley, a distinguished authoress and West African traveller ;—Admiral H. J. Blomfield (Syria 1840, Baltic 1854) ;—Lieutenant-General Sir F. Marshall (Crimea, Zulu war 1879) ;—Major-General T. L. Still (Crimea) ;—Mr. Alfred Caillard, C.M.G., Director-General of Egyptian Customs, and formerly Postmaster-General of Egypt ;—Dr. J. F. Easmon, Acting Chief Medical Officer of the Gold Coast Colony ;—Rev. F. G. Lugard, one of the oldest clergymen on the ecclesiastical establishment of the old East India Company :—Captain C. E. Maguire, Gold Coast Constabulary, killed in the Ashanti operations :—Captain Hugh Galloway, Royal Lancaster Regt., attached to the States Guides of the Malay Peninsula ;—Lord Loch (Sutlej, Crimea, China) ;—Lieut.-Colonel A. Adams, M.D., F.R.C.S.I., Administrative Medical Officer in Rajputana ;—Lord Monson (Indian Mutiny) ;—Captain C. E. Maguire, Gold Coast Constabulary ;—Major-General H. D. Slade (Crimea, China, 1860) ;—Major-General J. Still, R.A. (Crimea) ;—Captain M. Wilson, West African Field Force of the Niger Territories.

June 22nd, 1900.

18. Practical Difficulties as to Form of Teaching.

No doubt there will be practical difficulties in settling the actual form of the teaching—the how much and the proportion of each fact to be given, the style of composition to be adopted; whether it should be catechetical, a series of quotations or extracts from great English authors, or whether it should be only a brief summary of categorical statements. Probably the best form would be a combination of all three. But these are questions of detail, and in dealing with them, as really in the treatment of the whole matter, if taken up with prudent determination, difficulties would prove much smaller in practice than in theory, affording another instance of the maxim "Solvitur ambulando." Once let us realize the seriousness of the present state of things, and the needlessness of it—that is to say, that we have a remedy to our hand if we will only use it, given these facts, and there will be no difficulty in the way that cannot be easily got over.

19. Instance of what can be accomplished—Chester Macnaghten's Teaching at Kathiawar.

Meanwhile, as an instance of what has actually been done under circumstances of even more than ordinary difficulty, when the right man gives the teaching, I would cite the lectures of the late Chester Macnaghten, Principal of the Rajkumar College, Kathiawar, from 1870-1895. Some, probably many of you, know the book; but if so you will, I am sure, pardon my reference to it. It speaks of a life not blazoned on any conspicuous page of the world's history, but given up with a noble, unshrinking devotion to patient work in that corner of the world-vineyard where the man was put, and it tells of a reward better than fame—of gratitude and love from those for whom and among whom he worked—the princes and nobles of Kathiawar. The lectures were given Sunday by Sunday (the day of leisure in the College), and they deal with subjects which to ordinary ideas might seem beyond the limit of school-teaching. They are thirty-three papers, and they include among their topics "The Presence of God," "Faith," "Prayer," "Duty,"

"Purity," "Home," "Money," "Enjoyment," "Meditation," "The Last New Year."

This is how he treats the fact of God's existence:

"We all alike believe that God exists—I may say we are sure of it. Whether His name be Parameshwar or whether His name be God, we all believe that there is one omnipotent holy Creator of all things, who is not only King over heaven and earth, but also the Father and loving Protector of us and all whom He has created. We believe that whatever is good and pure, whatever is holy and true, comes from Him who alone is perfection, and that all that is good in us He cherishes and loves, and all that is bad He hates and resists."

Listen once more to what he says about prayer:

"I wish to-day to speak about prayer. And this naturally follows close on our consideration of faith, of faith in God. For what is prayer? It is nothing else than talking or holding conversation with God. And if we truly believe in God, we shall surely feel it a glorious privilege to be constantly (as it were) asking His counsel, relying (as it were) on the help of His hand, watching (as it were) for His approving smile. We shall feel that to have such companionship with us is to have heaven here upon earth."

My purpose in quoting these passages is not to put them forth as satisfying in all respects the disciplined theologian, or to mark my own approval or disapproval of them—a matter of little importance, but to illustrate the fact that in one great and notable Government college at least matters of religion were freely and honestly handled by an Englishman teaching high-caste and high-born Hindus, and with the result not merely that there was no protest, no "conscientious objection" raised, but that the very tone and manner of teaching adopted seems to have endeared the preceptor to those whom he taught.

20. Two Criticisms—the First, Can we "live on" such Teaching?

Two criticisms may be offered: the first is that of a cynic: By giving such teaching would not the Government be only pointing a contrast to the belief and practice of many Englishmen in India? There is just enough truth in the taunt to make it rankle. There are, it must be confessed with humiliation, some among our countrymen who do dishonour to any religion. But they are not typical men. And while, on the one hand, the higher tone given by judicious teaching of the kind advocated would enable the Indian student to appreciate more fully nobleness and goodness in the English character when he saw it, so, too, on the other hand, the body of moral opinion which it might be hoped would be called into existence by such teaching would exert an indirect influence on Englishmen themselves. It would become more than ever evident that personal immorality on the part of an English administrator in India, apart from all reference to religion, is the most unworthy service he can offer to his Queen.

21. The Second Criticism—Can Christians recommend Theistic Teaching?

The second criticism, of quite a different kind, is one which personally I feel it more serious to answer. The question may be asked, Supposing that this teaching be adopted, are not you, as a Christian, afraid of seeing the peoples of India remain in Theism, which, according to your religious views, is not satisfactory? This *argumentum ad hominem* I have no wish to repel as irrelevant; it is indeed worthy of much consideration. I think a reply might be made as follows: I admit Tennyson's dictum, "A lie which is half the truth is ever the blackest of lies"; but this refers to a statement which though partly true is essentially false by claiming to represent the whole truth. But no one (in the present connection) is claiming that Government should attempt or profess to set forth the whole truth of religion. This would mean official proselytism, which, I believe, is not God's way of evangelizing India or any other country. But what would be taught would be truth as far as it goes, and to

avoid misunderstanding, it might be well officially to admit in the Manual of Instruction the incompleteness of the teaching afforded.

22. Summary of the Matter.

The whole matter may, it appears to me, be summed up briefly as follows: our Government, which from the extraordinary circumstances of its origin and continuance occupies a tutelary position in India of unique responsibility, has repeatedly recognised, in official utterances of the most deliberate kind, both its duty and its wish to raise the moral (to say nothing of the religious) condition of India. In pursuance of this aim, it addressed itself to a comprehensive system of popular education; but, misled by a mistaken fear of seeming to proselytize in favour of the Christian religion, it excluded all reference to religion from its scholastic curriculum. This mistake is one of method, not of principle. The principle which affirms the duty of Government to raise the moral condition of its people remains the same, but a change of method is proved to be advisable. By pursuing its former method, Government has brought about a condition of mind among its students the very reverse of what was desired. The absence of all reference to religion in the Government teaching has induced a tendency to general infidelity in the student. Though not at all so intended, it brings about a negation of God in his practical life. This is morally poisonous, and it is politically dangerous, inasmuch as without the belief in God the most potent of all ethical agents in the formation of moral habits among the people is entirely taken away. At the same time, it can be safely affirmed that the people are less inclined to unreasonable suspicion of Government than they have ever been before, and this points to the present time as advantageous for taking action in the direction recommended. The remedy is to teach dogmatically and firmly in all Government schools the great facts of God's existence, and His supreme moral government of the world, implying the ultimate and absolute responsibility of every human being to His omnipresent

jurisdiction. In teaching these things we shall be honouring Him in some measure as He ought to be honoured by us; we shall be doing His work as His servants, and working representatives in India; and so far from exciting suspicion and disturbance, we shall, I believe, when the purpose and limits of our teaching are known, receive the gratitude and respect of all respectable men in India.

23. Conclusion. In conclusion, I cannot but think that this matter is the most momentous of all the problems affecting our rule in India. It is far too big a subject—and too difficult—for me to handle satisfactorily; but I should be glad indeed if the considerations now urged might serve to recommend, as more practicable than seemed before, a policy which is nothing less than our national duty. The present time has many advantages for action; some of them may soon pass away, never to return; and national duty, if neglected, must in any case bring upon us the guilt and the Nemesis of national sin. By continuing in our present educational policy of ignoring the existence of God, we shall be continuing a grievous wrong to the many millions entrusted to our care, and, to use the wise and warning words of one who was a poet before he was Governor-General of India:

"Until redressed, all wrongs are prophecies."

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THE GARTON LECTURES ON COLONIAL AND INDIAN AGRICULTURE IN EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

By Robert Wallace,
Professor of Agriculture and Rural Economy.

The closing year of the nineteenth century has been more productive than any former year of important events which have materially contributed to the consolidation of the British Empire. It has witnessed the drawing of her widely-distributed units of population and local self-governing communities into closer union and greater harmony. The consummation of Australian Federation has been triumphantly completed, after simmering in the caldron of the Empire-moulders for the better part of two decades. The Boer and Chinese Wars have demonstrated the depth of the racial, loyal, and Imperial feeling which pervades the vast majority of the people in every section of the Empire. While these important events shape the framework of the Greater Britain of the twentieth century, we must not lose sight of the minor circumstances which are silently and surely contributing in their own peculiar, unostentatious, and peaceful way to the consolidation of the foundations of the greatest Empire which the world has ever seen. When the passing interest of bloody wars has vanished, the succeeding times of peace will allow full scope for the influences of mental discipline, and in the industrial struggle, which has already begun, and which may safely be expected to grow in intensity, the empires or nations which are united by common interests, and which fully realize the benefits of education, are those which are likely to become the "salt of the earth."

One of the greatest problems of the future will be the supply of food for the rapidly-increasing, teeming millions of population. The haphazard method of production by

which the accumulated resources of temporary fertility have been drawn upon as successive new unpopulated areas of virgin soil have been placed under requisition must sooner or later cease, and more scientific methods of cultivation and better systems of management must extract more bountiful results from new and improved breeds of plants and of domesticated animals. The expected era implies a more accurate knowledge of agricultural details, and a wider and more Imperial conception of the greater kindred questions than the present time affords.

The expiring century seems an auspicious occasion for the new departure which has been made by the establishment and liberal endowment by Mr. Robert and Mr. John Garton, of Newton-le-Willows, Lancashire, of a course of about fifty lectures on "Colonial and Indian Agriculture" which are to be initiated in the current month in connection with the chair of Agriculture and Rural Economy in Edinburgh University. The first half of the course, which will be delivered by the Professor of Agriculture before the end of December, will be inaugurated on October 18 by an address on "Famine in India," a subject likely to prove of peculiar interest at what, let us hope, may be the closing epoch of the most prolonged, if not the most disastrous, of the recurring trials of physical endurance from starvation to which our Indian peoples have been periodically subjected. The ordinary work of the class will begin with a general view of the agriculture of India, including the main features of the Presidencies and other great political divisions, with special reference to geology, soil, climate, peoples, and chief products. The splendid suitability of the numerous native tillage implements will then be discussed, and their superiority over European implements pointed out, when local circumstances are fully considered. The section on cultivation of crops will deal with the native methods of rotation and the growing of "mixed" crops, the tillage, sowing, harvesting, and preparation for market, diseases, classification, and the production of the plants common to India, and

specially the valuable grasses of India. Interesting references will be made to the Government grass and dairy farms at Allahabad and other military stations in Northern India. Irrigation will be dealt with from the points of view of the land and other conditions suitable and unsuitable for the purpose; the relative advantages of canal, well, and tank irrigation; the quantities of water required, and the inexpensive native methods of lifting it. A description of native practices in supplying manure, and the various materials employed, will follow, and the Indian section will conclude by a discussion of the points and characteristics of the various breeds of zebu or humped cattle, buffaloes, horses and mules, goats and sheep, with mention of the diseases common to the domesticated animals of the country.

Similar subjects will be referred to, though not so exhaustively, in connection with the agriculture of Egypt. The rise and overflow of the Nile, along with a description of the ancient "basin" system, and the modern "canal" system of irrigation, drainage, and the methods of washing salt land, will receive special consideration, together with the available means of the manuring of land, and the division of crops into winter, spring, and autumn species, of which the most important will be separately described.

The third and last division of the first section of the new course deals most appropriately this year with South Africa. Under the heading of Political Divisions, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, and Rhodesia, will be briefly described, and their chief orographical and land-surface features pointed out. The population, consisting of British, Dutch, and other white nationalities, as well as the black races, along with labour and wages, will be discussed. The chief crops enumerated, viz., wheat, barley, oats, mealies (maize), millet, lucerne, sugar-cane, potatoes, and root crops, will receive attention, without neglecting the questions of rotations, manures, and the possibilities of development by means of irrigation.

Under viticulture and fruit-growing will come the production and exportation of grapes, oranges, and various tropical and semi-tropical fruits, and the wine industry. The subject of live stock will include the large wild game, antelopes, etc., as well as the ordinary species of domesticated animals, and ostriches, while special reference will be made to the diseases known as horse-sickness, anthrax, rinderpest, red-water (Texas fever), and scab in sheep, all of which have led to serious pecuniary loss to South Africa. The consideration of the general prospects of South Africa as a country for immediate agricultural settlement will close the course for the present year.

The second section of the course of lectures will probably open in October, 1901, and the Dominion of Canada will first come under review. Lectures will be delivered on the Eastern Provinces, and will treat of the leading features of the country, the agricultural practices of these older settled areas, the dairy industry, and exports of cheese and butter. Manitoba and the North-West Territories will occupy a prominent position in connection with the system of land-survey into townships of six miles square, wheat-growing on the prairies, the elevator system of handling grain, cattle-ranching, sheep breeding and feeding, the advantages of mixed farming, and the Scotch crofter settlements. The grazing capabilities and agricultural resources of British Columbia will come next, and the Peace River district will receive special notice. Government aid to agriculture will follow, as illustrated by the experimental and demonstration farms, and agricultural education, prominence being given to the Guelph Agricultural College, Ontario.

The second subdivision—that of Australasia—will begin with the distinctive features of the federated Colonies, along with New Zealand and Tasmania. The subject of crops and pastures will precede the very important matter of water-supply, especially in the more arid regions, where irrigation and well-sinking are practised. Under reclama-

ion of land will be described fencing, "ring-barking," "bush-falling," "fern-crushing," the draining of swamps, the burning off of withered growths, and the sowing down of grass and other pasture "seeds," and even thistles on newly-cleared land. The greatest industry of federated Australia, viz., live stock, will receive special consideration under merinos and long wools and their crosses for the production of mutton for freezing and exportation, and finally the wool trade. Horses, cattle, and dairying will all receive the attention due to their importance. The agricultural colleges of Australasia will supply the last, though not necessarily the least interesting or instructive, part of the subject in this division.

The smaller Crown Colonies will not be neglected, and the second section of the course will close with a discussion of such miscellaneous subjects as exports of agricultural produce from the Colonies and India, and the relations of the agriculture of the Colonies and India to that of the Mother Country.

The reader would doubtless like to know how it came about that funds were provided to create and permanently endow this unique link between Great Britain and her Colonial and Indian Empires. Many years ago the brothers Garton began their system of cross-fertilizing crop plants which in Nature are self-fertilizing. The patient and arduous labours of twenty years have resulted in the production of hundreds of grains and other plants, many of which have been already shown to be superior in certain important characteristics to any of their known cultivated prototypes. The artificial cross-fertilization of grains had long been practised, and by a good many experimenters, without any very important results having been obtained, chiefly owing to the fact that these pioneers employed ordinary varieties for their purposes, and were contented with first crosses as final results. It has been reserved to the brothers Garton during the final twenty years of the expiring century to demonstrate the enormous economic

value of such work, when dexterity, perseverance, and judgment are in combination. They have achieved success by collecting from all quarters of the globe species and varieties of different genera, not only of cultivated plants, but also of allied weeds and worthless plants of great constitutional vigour, and, after many trials and many failures, mating skilfully selected pairs of these together as a first step. The crossing of pairs of the selected, though not necessarily the most promising, progeny, after it had been shown that they had assumed fixed types, formed a second step. Much greater variation resulted from the second or subsequent multiple crosses than from first crosses. Nature's ordinary course of events was thrown into infinitely greater confusion in the later than in the first crosses, and in this, together with the skill exhibited in making useful selections, rested the Gartons' success. The great majority of the compound results were either sterile or worthless, but the, comparatively speaking, few prizes are vastly superior to anything that can be produced by a first cross.

The great scientific triumph was speedily followed by financial success, although only a few of many valuable results have yet been put on the market. The substantial endowment of the lectures has been given as a thank-offering to Science for the success attained, and Edinburgh University was chosen as the appropriate instrument by which to accomplish the object, because of the sympathy and encouragement which was extended from that quarter to the workers at an early stage of the experiments, when a cold and indifferent world, and even leading representatives of Science, declined to smile upon their efforts.

THE CHINESE IMBROGLIO AND HOW TO GET OUT OF IT.

By E. H. Parker.

"Although man is the essence of treachery, I believe every man wishes to be honest; his interests prevent him."—General Gordon.

If it were possible for nations, or rulers as the representatives and embodiments of nations, to swallow their pride, resentment, and ambition, acting solely according to what the natural instinct of all men secretly feels to be honourable and right, there could scarcely be a shadow of doubt in anyone's mind that we ought one and all of us to pack up our traps and clear out of Kiao Chou, Port Arthur, Talien Wan, Wei-hai-Wei, and Kwangchou Wan, leaving the hoary old Empire of China one more chance of regaining its dignity, and giving it every reasonable assistance towards mending its mistaken ways. The whole leasehold, or "sphere" business is, as the lawyers say, vitiated by a savour of initial fraud, and it is this sense of elementary justice denied to it by powerful foes that has nerved up the venerable old carcass to run amuck and make one desperate final bid for unfettered and independent existence in the shocking way we now see. Unfortunately, with nations it is even more difficult than with individuals. A man who flatters himself he is honourable sometimes does not hesitate, when he discovers he has made a mistake—or, at all events, has reason to fear that on inquiry it may turn out to be so—to shuffle basely out of his plain duty to examine into the true facts; and he will rather go down to the grave with the dishonour of having wronged a defenceless colleague upon his head, than manfully apologize for his mistake, or, at all events, do his best to provide a formal remedy for it, without leaving any sense of unredressed wrong to rankle in the mind of his victim. It is infinitely more difficult with the assemblages of men dealing with

colleagues called nations. Amidst the screech of multifarious irresponsible or interested advisers, they may well be quite incapable collectively of logically focussing their own issues, even if, granted that their corporate intentions were unimpeachable, one or two individuals at the helm were not influenced by a greed, a timidity, or an ambition of their own sufficient to counterweigh the good resolves of the governing body or of their multitudinous counsellors or their constituents, as the case may be. And this is the psychological attitude of Europe at this moment *vis-à-vis* of China—the word "Europe" including America and Japan.

The whole history of European relations with China has, like most other human histories, been one of faults on both sides. Exactly three centuries ago the earliest missionaries from the West were fairly well received by the decrepit Court of Peking, notwithstanding the violent filibustering of the first European merchant traders on the Chinese coasts, coupled with the ravages of Japanese pirates, which two phenomena were of themselves sufficient to create suspicion and alarm. Still, even a eunuch-ridden and corrupt court, such as that of the last Ming Emperors, was sufficiently reasonable to see that the pretentious dogma of Western religion might, after all, have some solid substratum of human good in it, whilst Western arts and sciences undoubtedly proved themselves to be of value. And so James Rho and Adam Schall ultimately received Imperial civilities and substantial employment at the Chinese Court. A "Boxer" rebellion ushered in the fresh and lusty Manchus, just as another such is, after an interval of 260 years, now ushering their degenerate descendants out. Yet the first two Tartar Emperors were exceedingly well disposed towards religion; and if Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans had not incontinently taken to squabbling together about trifles of empty dogma, dragging in the personalities of the Pope and the Emperor to make matters worse politically, both the Christian religion and European

progress generally would have had a promising outlook all over China. But persecution cut the Gordian knot. Then followed nearly two centuries of practical confinement to Peking, Macao, and Canton. The Dutch had been ignominiously turned out of Formosa, and had brought both themselves and their religion into contempt all over the Far East by accepting the basest of apostate conditions in the miserable patch of land called Decima, in Nagasaki Bay. The Portuguese had obtained, through the connivance of corrupt mandarins, a not very creditable foothold in Macao, where they were partly endured by the weakness, and partly tolerated as a necessary evil by the venality and corruptness, of the Canton Government. The bloodthirsty massacres of Chinese by the Spaniards in Manila make up the tale of Celestial wrongs and just suspicions; or, if we prefer to take the European point of view, of Chinese treachery and its well-merited castigation. However, it was a fair exchange of give and take on both sides. Manchu officials and Chinese traders were suspicious and corrupt. Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutchmen, and at last Englishmen, were greedy, rude, and violent. The situation, if unsatisfactory, was as good as either party deserved. Trade dragged on its corrupt course at Canton, and, figuratively and literally, no bones to speak of were broken on either side. Meanwhile the population of China had shot up in two centuries from 60,000,000 to 400,000,000, and the total revenue collected from this huge mass of humanity amounted to about one shilling per annum per head, peculation included; so that, whatever the faults of the ancient and exclusive civilization really were, things could not have been so very bad, even though the people were totally deprived of the consolations of Christianity which we were so anxious to thrust upon them.

The next turning-point was the "opium war." Many object to this cant term, as connoting a responsibility of ours which, they say, did not actually exist. It is unnecessary to press this point, for the Chinese themselves give a

very fair account of it all, avoiding the straining of traders and of missionaries alike. They say opium had for a very long time been imported as a drug, and that the habit of smoking it, and consequently of importing it in ever-increasing quantities, grew to alarming dimensions before any responsible persons became aware of it, or, at all events, realized its importance. Moreover, they admit that, even after the evil influences of wholesale opium-smoking were discovered and realized, they themselves were largely to blame for the supineness, connivance, and corruption of their officers. There is nothing much to be proud of in our importing opium into China for the benefit of our Indian revenue; but, on the other hand, it was a perfectly natural thing to do from a mercantile and political point of view, and, therefore, the Exeter Hall outcry about our lasting shame is quite unjustified. Moreover, at this time the extensive use of opium in Turkey, India, and elsewhere had exhibited no particularly evil effects; and even if adventurous traders could be expected to go into heart-searching questions of commercial morality, they could have had no reason to suppose that the Chinese temperament would be so utterly exceptional as to lend itself to an undue indulgence unparalleled in the rest of mankind. The Chinese even go further. They perfectly well know, and they officially admit, that Commissioner Lin's want of tact and fairness was greatly responsible for the failure of the great opium destruction movement in 1835, when 20,000 chests were surrendered and destroyed. The British Government had practically given way when they found that the Chinese reformers were in earnest. Captain Elliott had surrendered every package of opium he could lay his hands on, and it only wanted a little generosity, tact, and patience on the part of Commissioner Lin to put a stop by degrees to future importations from India altogether. However, misunderstandings and conceit led to war, and after the cession of Hong Kong, the Chinese were so frightened at having to pay six millions of dollars

for the opium destroyed, that they neglected to make any restrictive stipulations about the opium traffic. On our side, having "got our backs up," we rather shabbily took advantage of Chinese stupidity to legalise the trade—at least, in this negative way, that it went on unchecked by us, as before. To counterbalance this, China has since taken to growing opium, and the combined result has undoubtedly been to sap the empire's strength.

The shiftiness of the Chinese in carrying out the various provisions of the Nanking Treaty generally, and the particular difficulty about our getting entry into Canton, were, of course, unsatisfactory. I am far from denying grave Chinese faults, but, on the other hand, I try to test the claims to virtue of our own, and to state a fair case for China. We all know that the Chinese are shifty, and often untruthful too; they are by no means alone amongst nations in these respects. But the Nanking Treaty was forced upon them, and we have plenty of instances in European politics of Western nations shuffling, not only out of compulsory treaties, but out of treaties made in good faith and voluntarily. Moreover, our own European ways, even if tactful, were often misunderstood by, and offensive to, the Chinese; and it is quite certain that they thought us all then, as they feel they have reason to think us all now, shifty, violent, and greedy. The final result of these smouldering feelings on both sides burst out into flame in the shape of the second war, in which the French found a specific reason for taking part as allies owing to the cowardly murder of their missionary Chappedelaine, following, as it did, upon a long series of persecutions. The Americans and the Russians took the opportunity to press their own claims amid the clash of our arms. The results to the Manchus were even more humiliating than those of the first war, and therefore no one can be surprised that the Chinese as a nation do not love us in consequence. The English and French they have to thank for driving the Emperor out of his capital and burning the Summer Palace; the Russians for having,

in 1855, summarily annexed the lower Amur; for having, in 1858, secured by treaty the left bank up to the Ussuri; and for having, in 1860, secured by a second treaty the parts between the Ussuri and the sea. The Americans were able to appear in a more friendly capacity, but the Chinese regarded their motives as jealous and self-interested, none the less. Treaties with nearly all the Powers now followed, and General Gordon lent his services towards propping up the Manchu throne, though it is well known that he later on considered China's best hopes to lie in the extinction of that Dynasty.

And so things went on. The first rat to leave the sinking ship was Siam, which discontinued sending tribute. The French put Saigon in their pockets as they sailed home; but although the legal owner, Annam, was a vassal of China, Saigon was a province too far south to matter much for the moment. In 1865 Bhutan was placed under our official ken; but in this case, too, China had the Nepaul precedent, and did not mind much so long as the two Himalayan states were not occupied by our troops. The next thing was the temporary occupation of Ili by Russia in 1871, after the Chinese had been expelled from Kashgar in 1863, and Yakub Beg's power had gradually become threatening to his neighbours. In 1874 disputes with the Japanese touching shipwrecked seamen led to the temporary occupation by the latter of Formosa, whence they were coaxed out partly by the good offices of Sir Thomas Wade. The same year the Loochoo Islands were summarily placed under the Japanese Home Office, though for many centuries they had sent regular tribute to China, and had kept up relations with Foochow. By the treaty of 1874, Annam opened Tonquin to French trade, and the Chinese now found to their horror that they had the French knocking at their very gates. In 1880, after first beguiling the Manchu envoy Ch'unghou into surrendering Ili, Russia thought better of it in view of the threatening attitude of progressive China, and ultimately gave back that province

in consideration of expenses paid. It has been said that this action was inspired by fear, which is very possible; but, none the less, Russia is fairly entitled to the credit of an honest fulfilment of her promise, no matter what her motives may have been, which there is no title in others to question. The French now began to push their way up to the Chinese frontiers in Yün Nan and Kwang Si. This gradually led to hostilities, French attacks upon Formosa and the Pescadores, the French disaster at Langson, and finally the arrangement of a "drawn" peace by Sir Robert Hart. Corea next slipped away, and China, instead of being her Suzerain, condescendingly receiving exclusive homage, now found herself merely *primus inter pares*, intriguing for her rights at Söul in company with a miscellaneous assembly of foreign officials of all countries, whose diplomatic status was as vague as that of her own "resident." During these interludes Great Britain suddenly occupied Upper Burma, and claimed to trade with Tibet, compensating China, as pretended Suzerain, with promises of a periodical Burmese "mission with presents," which never came off once, and never will come off. Little nibblings of territory by ourselves and the Russians in the Hunza and Aktash directions also caused a slight flutter of Chinese feathers, and in 1890 we obtained from China a protectorate over Sikkim. For three or four years after this poor China did pretty well, nothing more alarming taking place than a few British, French, Swedish, or Russian missions of inquiry into Manchuria and Tibet. But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked aggressively during this short respite: the result was the war with Japan, which severed Formosa and the Pescadores definitely from the Empire, made Corea independent, and very nearly cost China Liao Tung as well.

Thus, from the Tonquin frontier town of Monkai, on the Gulf of Tonquin, to the mouth of the Yalu, in Liao Tung, the whole of the fringe of subject territory bordering upon China proper has been lopped off piecemeal since,

forty years ago, she agreed to make treaties with European Powers. No wonder the trunk begins to twinge when the extremities have all gone. Tonquin, French and British Shans, Burma, Manipur, Bhutan, Sikkim (Nepaul as well as Assam already practically ours), Hunza, Wakhan, Badakshan, the Pamir, Kokand; then, at the other end of the Russian frontier, the Ussuri province; Corea, Loo-choo, Formosa—all gone within one short generation—"all my pretty chickens and their dam at one fell swoop." The useless deserts of Tibet, Kashgaria, and Mongolia, together with the ancestral wastes of Manchuria, were all that was left of colonial dominion to the Manchu rulers of China after forty years of militant Christianity, with innumerable missionary "rows," and extravagant demands for compensation thrown in at intervals. No doubt the conduct of China has been bad, but it cannot be denied that European behaviour to her has not been calculated to inspire confidence in the Christian purity of our motives. In spite of her bad finance, she never borrowed a cent until we Europeans induced her to do so, and she has always been most scrupulous in paying us her debts. Not to speak of Turkey, how do the Christian states of Portugal, Greece, or the Argentine Republic compare with her for financial honour? In spite of her corruption, the population—even allowing 300 per cent. (*i.e.*, three times) on the collected revenue for roguery and squeezes—has never paid 3s. a head in taxation including local charges, against £3 a head in Western Europe exclusive even of rates and octroi. Her traders are qitue as honest as ours, and often more capable—the first statement is universally admitted, the second is self-evident. Her literature ranks among the first in the world, even though her educational system may be antiquated. If she has unhappily debauched and weakened herself by opium indulgence, she has not yet degraded her manhood below the level of the drunken idlers who infest all our own British towns, or below that of the masses of Russian peasantry; so that we Europeans live in glass houses in this respect.

Chinamen have been the making of all the European colonies in the Eastern seas. If they are not welcome in America or Australia, it is not entirely on account of inherent faults of their own, but partly because white men cannot compete with them on equal terms. They were not only welcome, but eagerly sought for when they were indispensable; now they are kept out. No heat or cold, no conditions of atmosphere, come amiss to a Chinaman; he is quiet, industrious, patient, never gets drunk, makes an orderly husband. In a word, with all his vices and defects, the Chinaman is one of the finest all-round citizens in the world.

In thus stating a reasonable case for China, I by no means condone her faults collectively and individually, and as for the Manchu Dynasty, I am not alone in the opinion that it has largely forfeited its right to exist. The fault most offensive to us is arrogance, and for that she paid dearly when Japan gave her the thrashing she so richly deserved. But at this stage three Great Powers appear upon the scene. Not one of these Powers had ever ventured to try a fall with Japan alone when she was in full bloom of strength; but now that she was exhausted with the effort of crushing single-handed a presumptuous enemy for the common benefit of all Treaty Powers, they fell upon her in combination, and deprived her of the fruits of her victory, under pretext of there being danger to the world in a Japanese occupation of part of Liao Tung. The following are the exact Russian words, translated: "The cession of Liao Tung to Japan raised reasonable objections on the part of the European Powers. Taking up its position on the northern shores of the Yellow Sea, Japan would thus dominate the north-east of China, and so destroy the political balance of the Far East. By virtue of this, Russia, France, and Germany, upon the initiative of the Russian Government, advised Japan, in the interest of maintaining peace in the Far East, to withdraw from its claims to the peninsula of Liao Tung." Possibly Russia honestly took

this view at the time, and if she had stood manfully up to Japan, and either argued or enforced her own case in courageous independence, no one could have disparaged her action. Even for France, as squire-in-ordinary to the Russian knight-errant, the plea of humble duty might be admitted. But in the case of Germany there was nothing in the way of local interest to account for this unexpected attendance upon Russia, hat in hand; and no one saw through the move more clearly than China, who never even pretended to show gratitude for the gratuitous aid proffered. Of course, the negative policy of neutralizing the power of the Dual Alliance by getting indirect admittance into it as a *tertium quid* was the next best thing to the difficult task of positively weakening it, even though this involved a temporary disclaimer of common interest with the Power which had nursed both Germany's navy and Germany's trade into being, in favour of the other two Powers who always done everything they could to check it by severe tariffs. This deliberate sacrifice to "interest" may be in accordance with modern diplomacy, but it scarcely appeals to the now dormant sense of chivalry. As a matter of fact, it may be rather a good thing for Europe to draw off a little of Germany's electricity to the Far East; but that does not make the action any the more admirable.

That Russia should expect some *quid pro quo* was not unreasonable, for she had never come to serious blows with China since she was ejected from Albazin 200 years ago; and her territorial acquisitions, if sometimes of a rather doubtful kind, at least were ultimately conceded to her by treaty. Accordingly Russia obtained the permission of China to winter her fleet in the harbour of Kiao Chou, and also, in certain eventualities, to anchor in Port Arthur and Talien Wan, which last two places, however, might not be alienated by China to any other Power. The Cassini Convention also arranged for railways through Manchuria under Russian auspices. France obtained as her reward, at the expense of Great Britain, certain concessions of

territory in Kiang-hung. It is this foolish policy of mischievously trying to set one nation against the other that has cost China so dear. It is the "policy of the weak," as frankly enunciated by Li Hung-chang. In this particular instance we were not heart-broken at the opportunity of making China pay a just penalty for the silly attempt, and we promptly exacted compensation to suit our convenience on the Burma frontier. Germany, *sur ces entrefaites*, got no thanks whatever from China, Russia, or France; all three, or, at least, two of the three, too lightly regarding her as a gratuitous intruder (or *to-shi*, as the Chinese say). If Russia ever felt any gratitude at all, she had now got all she wanted, and made no visible effort to exhibit it. All this was naturally calculated to irritate Germany, who had thus made an enemy of Japan without having anything in hand to show for it. Certainly, from a pure bargainer's point of view, Germany was entitled to expect some reward; but the Chinese, with their usual slipperiness, evaded all attempts made by her officious friends to obtain a naval station. Germany's opportunity accordingly arose when, on November 1, 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in Shan Tung, and a colony was promptly baptized in the blood of the martyrs. The Russian right to take Kiao Chou on temporary lease had not yet been exercised, and the Cassini Convention said nothing about restricting the rights of other Powers there. Perhaps some involuntary remark which the German Emperor had adroitly caused the Czar to drop at the famous interview which anticipated M. Felix Faure left the German course technically clear. The Germans, according to their own published account, carefully eluded British watchfulness, chose the moment, and slipped into Kiao Chou unawares, taking forcible possession of the place in time of peace, and driving out the Chinese troops without further parley. Baron Heyking proved obdurate in the subsequent negotiations, and the Manchu Government, by not summoning courage to resist on this supreme occasion, sealed their own doom

possibly for ever. The next thing was the "temporary occupation" of Port Arthur and Ta-lien Wan by Russia, who no doubt could now plead: "The serpent tempted me, and I did eat," though that is an inadequate plea in the eyes of justice. The insolent stupidity of the Chinese Government, more especially in missionary matters, had meanwhile so alienated the sympathies of foreigners in China that, shocking though this singular disregard for those international conventions usually known as "international law" was universally felt to be, there was a general sentiment that it served China right, more especially as in yielding to Germany the mischievous Celestial statesmen clearly hoped to set foreign nations by the ears, and get Germany turned out. Russia, however, simply took her share. England and France promptly demanded compensation on the ground that: "If you are going to sit silent and let the adversaries play false cards at the international rubber, we demand the right to play two cards of any suit we like to make the game even." It may not have been a generous thing to do, but, at any rate, it was natural and human, and China brought it on herself by her own pusillanimous action. China, in short, for once overreached herself. This sort of thing had always paid well in bygone times, with ignorant Huns, Turks, Tibetans, and inferior frontier tribes generally; but European nations, though spiteful and jealous of each other, were found to be of tougher material than Tartars, and, moreover, they had the advantage of a more logical and scientific training, better means of exchanging views, and more financial "pull." Perhaps the greatest come-down of all for Manchu dignity was when Prince Henry exacted, on absolutely equal terms, personal and informal interviews with the Empress-Dowager and the Emperor.

Since then poor China has been going *à la derive*, and Christian diplomacy, "so sensitive in point of right," has been like a bee-hive without the queen, "all over the place," for want of a disinterested leader and a righteous

man. Amidst the noisy talk of *Kwa-fên*, or "slicing up like a melon," which succeeded Germany's stunning blow administered to the poor staggering gladiator just as he was recovering a little breath, China bridled up as haughtily as possible in silence, and set to work arming with a will, now trying on the old foolish game of inciting the jealousy of one Power against the other; now making a spasmodic resistance, as in the case of the Italian demands; and now giving way in sheer desperation to a tremendous and ruinous demand such as that recently advanced by France: this demand is in favour of religious bodies she uses for political purposes in the Far East, but periodically chases away at home. In 1879-80 China had made an honest effort to get rid of this politico-religious incubus by arranging through Mr. Dunn for a nuncio or legate from the Pope; she was prepared to give the utmost protection and toleration to Catholics and converts provided that mere moral arguments were used with her, and that no force was applied; and the Pope welcomed it, as any honest Christian would have done. But France promptly interposed, as "Protector of the Catholics" in the Far East, with her political veto, and practically threatened to overturn the Pope's influence in France unless the Holy Father left hers alone in China. The Pope gave way, or his advisers did. Twenty years later we have a repetition of this compromising spirit at the Vatican in the disavowal of the Christian forgiveness extended to an excommunicated King's memory, of the Bishop of Cremona's action, and of the Queen of Italy's harmless hymn of sorrow. The earliest use Germany made of her first Catholic mission in China, and of her successful assertion against French pretensions of her right to protect her own Catholics in the Far East, was in connection with Kiao Chou, when Bishop Anzer adopted the most militant of attitudes in advising the German Emperor. It seems to me an incongruous garb that modern religion is thus decking herself in, and one bearing a suspicious resemblance to

the cloak of the Inquisition. Of course, the double-dealing of the Chinese themselves is largely responsible for this Borgian and Medician type of political Christianity; but, on the other hand, extra-territorialism and missionary zeal is innocently responsible for Chinese intrigue and treachery. What should we think if unkempt and bearded Russian "popes" in their gaberdines had the right to stand up preaching in broken English on a stand at Nelson's monument? Or if a couple of half-shaved, scowling Spanish priests accompanied as advocates to Sir F. Lushington's court a more or less innocent Cockney Catholic youth charged with breaking Protestant windows? Yet this is what goes on daily all over China. My humble views upon missionary propaganda in China are expressed at length in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1897. As that is a Catholic journal, and as I distinctly stated at the outset that I was a non-Catholic, and proceeded to criticize the Catholics, it is evident that the missionary case must be fairly stated therein, or the paper would not have been accepted. I will quote a sentence or two: "I could never see that either the ignorant or the educated Chinese cared much for dogma. As the French priests used to say, 'Ce sont de tristes Chrétiens.' . . . It is the medical missions which are the great success [everywhere]. . . . The French missionaries exact the utmost personal deference; no converts of any rank presume to sit down. . . . The Protestant missionaries do good in the following way: They teach poor children to be clean, speak the truth, and behave themselves modestly, chastely, and quietly. As to the adult male converts, I could never convince myself they were in earnest." The fact is, historically the really well-informed Chinese think they see clearly that Christianity is nothing more than the doctrine of Buddha carried to Syria by Hindoo priests, and modified to suit the ancient religion of the Jews, just as at the same moment other Buddhist emissaries softened the asperities of Shamanism, Taoism, or Confucianism, and carried the gentle doctrine

of equality and mercy to China, Corea, Burma, and Japan. Moreover, when Nestorianism and Buddhism were both working together at Si-an Fu, the Chinese not unreasonably regarded them as different forms of the same religion; and, in fact, when I witnessed during a year's stay in Burma the simple, unpretending devotion of all ranks, the indifference to wealth, the enormous charity, the respectful gatherings of all sorts of people to hear sermons in the village *k'aungs*, the decent simplicity and freedom of women, the equality of all "classes," etc., and compared it with the flaunting worldliness of our own fashionable churches, with their squires' pews, their stingy collections, the simpering of over-dressed women, the shame to be seen kneeling, the squabbles about trumpery points in "doctrine," upon which Christ Himself never expressed any opinion, and the general snobbery of class distinctions, I often felt that there was more of the genuine spirit of Christianity in frank Buddhism than in our own sanctimonious, worldly sectarianism and pretence. Anyhow, the learned Chinese, rightly or wrongly, regard the whole missionary business as a historical fraud, and they have as much right to do so as we have to criticize their own solemn "idolatrous" farces (as they appear to us). They say: "At the time all this took place, Han Wu Ti had conquered half Asia; Chinese civilization and power were at their zenith; more than half Europe was still in a state of barbarism. Why should a petty nation called the Jews, who to this day are despised outcasts nearly all over the European world, have had all this tenderness lavished upon them by Heaven, with a reversion of benefits to the uncivilized hordes of Europe, whilst several hundred million Chinese were to be entirely left out in the cold for 2,000 years?" When in addition to the Quixotic absurdity of the entire case (as it seems to them) from its historical and philosophical aspect, they observe Russian Christians calling themselves Orthodox, having married priests and not proselytizing at all; Catholic celibate priests getting up a political quarrel

between the Emperor and the Pope, engaging converts to fight against the Emperor's armies, interfering in local affairs, carrying extra-territorial jurisdiction with them wherever they go, abusing Protestant missionaries; when they see Protestant missionaries split up into a dozen rival sects, almost entirely ignored and too often derided by the mercantile community, abusing the Catholics, living comfortably with their wives and families, mostly at the ports; neglecting to minister to drunken foreign sailors and others of their own kind, who manifestly require some sort of corrective discipline; when they see France and Italy playing a double game for and against religion according as it suits their purpose; America and Australia driving the Chinese from their shores; Germany taking up under her wing from political motives the exotic against which Bismarck was furiously tilting only twenty years ago; when they see all this, and couple it with the fate of India, of the fringe of states around China, of the blacks in Africa, of the Red Indians, of Honolulu, of Turkey, of Persia; when they reflect what they were themselves before they emasculated themselves with the opium habit, and when noble Emperors like K'anghi and K'ien-lung dictated their will to the whole world (as they knew it), can it be wondered that their gorge, and more especially the gorge of the ruling classes, risès at the spectacle of so much one-sidedness, unfairness, and bullying? It is this that has caused the Dynasty, or a section of it, to go stark mad rather than tolerate any further an outrage against the most elementary principles of justice; and it is to this feeling also that we primarily owe a similar revolt of the mind amongst the ignorant masses, the whole culminating in the curious hesitating mixture known as the "Boxer" rebellion. Prince Tuan and his indignant friends have first induced the Empress-Mother to depose a weakly monarch who (they thought) was selling their birthright; and then they have fraudulently attempted to strengthen their own case by leading Her Majesty to believe that the greedy foreigner

was bent upon her destruction. This may be a wrong view of Europe, and a hostile one, but it is no more outrageous than the distorted Boer view of the British, which excites so much sympathy over the rest of Europe; and if it is wrong, our own European conduct is perhaps to blame too. We have no right to whimper and talk about "treachery." The Mandarins, if corrupt, are part of a system, the responsibility for which lies with their own Government, and not with us; they are naturally indignant at the loss of their accustomed livelihood, at the diversion of all available funds to foreign loans and to foreign armaments. The people, if hostile, are usually only so when encouraged or provoked; though they have their grievances, on the whole they are content with the easy *laisser-aller* character of their own administration. If it were not for the superior luxury of missionary life as compared with their own, for the extra-territoriality which lifts missionaries beyond equality with themselves before the law, for the mischievous intrigues caused by disputes between local converts and local pagans concerning popular customs, there would be little hostility between the people and the missionaries, who are almost invariably good and kindly souls. As to the Dynasty, it is unhappily degenerate, both morally and physically, besides being ill supplied with legal heirs. But is it to be wondered at, after the treatment it has received, and with the recollections of past glory behind it, that passion gets the better of reason, and a desperate plunge is taken with a resolve to encompass in its own ruin that of the Europeans who have ruined it? When a combination of Dutch and foreign intriguers set to work to turn us out of South Africa for their own benefit, we found plenty of *intellectuels* at home ready to join the jealous and hostile press of the Continent, and to attack us for defending our own liberties and rights. It was admitted that the Boer Government was corrupt and cruel; yet their conduct in driving to the sea the only nation in the world which grants equality to all men was

proclaimed from the Continental housetops as heroism of the first water. The Manchu Government also has those faults of corruption and cruelty; but how is it that the Jameson Raid against Boer abuse of power was so odious to the nation which two years later made a virtue at Kiao Chou of a similar raid against Chinese abuse of power? If so many of the Germans, the French, and the Russians think it a heroic act for misguided men to try and drive us out of South Africa, how is it they are so horrified when the misguided Manchus try to drive Europeans out of China? The plot of Prince Tuan to destroy the Legations is not one whit more treacherous than that of the Boers to destroy the British officers; with this difference—that Prince Tuan is at least an open enemy, whilst Cordua and his friends were underhand traitors, who had accepted the hospitable pardon of Lord Roberts—and yet the latter have their Continental sympathizers! The fact is, the guiding principle of right in politics is obscured in modern times, and the eyes of Europeans see black or white in the same colour accordingly as it suits their interests or their resentment; nor can we decline to admit our British share in this moral *désorientation.*

The conduct of a section of the Chinese Government and people has undoubtedly been bad, but it is equally incontestable that the irritating, aggressive, and unfair attitude of European nations is largely responsible for such a lapse of reason; nor must it be forgotten that, in contemplation of so immoderate and exaggerated an outburst of passion at the capital, the greater part of both the governors and the governed in the provinces of China have remained quiescent and fair. It would be a lasting injustice, and an act of cowardice as well, to repay these good men for their abstention from evil in the time of our own stress by attacking them after their very abstention has enabled us to bring adequate forces to the front. It is only fair that the nation as a whole should be held responsible for wilful (liquidated) damage done; but it is not fair that the nation should be

permanently crippled with exemplary damages, caused in part by our own contributory negligence. What the Chinese, who are the freest democracy in the world, dread even more than the missionaries is the grinding, inquisitorial, and unsparing administrative methods of nearly every European Power but England. We have a duty to perform to the Chinese people as well as punishing the Manchu Government. For all that is outrageous in the recent explosion of ferocity the Manchu Government is solely responsible to us, morally as well as actually; if the Chinese people had any part in it, it was only a limited section of the people in one limited region: apart from foreign contributory action in the shape of mistaken missionary zeal and seizure of territory, the wrongful action of that limited section of the people was first provoked by misery and starvation: such as the original action was at the outset, it was as dangerous to the Dynasty as to the missionaries; but its effect was ingeniously diverted by rascally governors and misguided princely personages from the Dynasty to missionaries and to foreigners generally. It is a very serious question whether the Manchu Dynasty ought to be allowed to exist any longer; at any rate, if it is tolerated, it should only be in the person of the legitimate Emperor, duly elected in 1874; and the wasting of revenues upon an idle pack of useless bannermen should be at once put a stop to. These bannermen at Peking are partly responsible for the attacks on the legations, and the whole organization should be at once broken up, the men being either drafted into a new and homogeneous national army, or being left to gain their own living by labour, like common Chinamen. As to the bannermen in the provinces—Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, Chinkiang, Kingchow, Ch'êngtu, Si-an Fu, Kwei-hwa Ch'êng, Ts'ingchou, etc.—they are in a very peculiar position, inasmuch as they have taken no part whatever in the revolt against foreigners. Of course, if it is decided to keep on the Manchu Dynasty, they will remain as they are; but in that case those interested in setting

upon her legs a strong China should see that they do proper military work for their money. Should the Manchu ruling house be displaced, these same bannermen can also be drafted into the national army like ordinary Chinamen.

If this expensive incubus of bannermen could only be got rid of, there is really no reason (not of the vindictive kind) why the Manchu dynasty should be set aside. In the first place, it has been in the past the very best the Chinese ever had, in almost every way, and from every point of view. So far as it is foreign, it has lost its language, and practically become Chinese; so far as the Chinese are foreign to it, they have grown to love the pigtail, and have practically become Manchu. The two elements should henceforth be welded into one homogeneous nation, the Manchus disappearing into the mass of Chinese just as the Scotch (as a power) have disappeared into the mass of English; the Manchu family continuing to reign, not by reason of its power or nationality, but by virtue of its excellent antecedents and traditions—very much as the Stuarts (much worse kings than the Manchus) ceased to be Scotchmen, or the Hanoverians to be Germans, after a few generations on the British throne. The Chinese monarchy would thus be strengthened by the total abolition of fictitious and useless dividing lines and interests. With the exception of a limited family circle, well paid, well educated, and bred carefully up simply to produce heirs, the whole of the imperial loafers known as agnates, clansmen, *ghioro*, and so on, should be drafted into the mandarin classes as ordinary unprivileged officials. The eight "iron-capped princes," or *Fürsts*, who occupy an intermediate position between the Imperial princes and nobles like Confucius and Mencius, and who correspond somewhat to persons like the King of Hanover or the Duke of Hesse-Nassau in the German system, might be left their rank as counsellors, and also their estates, so long as they cease to be pensioners on the public chest: in fact, no vested property rights or empty titles should be interfered with at all, provided that no

charges or privileges are foisted upon the public economy. The whole Chinese civil service should be at once re-organized—so far, at least, as salary goes. After all, the number of indispensable officials is very limited. Including the 1,300 *hien*-city magistrates, who are the true essence of government, and the prefects, intendants, judges, treasurers, governors, and viceroys above them, there are not 2,000 "commissioned" civil officers in the whole empire, and these would be well paid with £2,000,000 a year. To provide this first charge, an increase upon import duties should be consented to, and steps should be taken to totally abolish *likin* and native Custom-houses. The one innovation should not be granted without the other. It must be remembered that as much purely native or coast trade passes through Sir Robert Hart's hands as foreign trade; not only should the taxation upon this (imports and exports) be remodelled, but all native junk trade (upon the coast and main river routes only) should be gradually placed under the Foreign Customs. The Chinese Government should, in the first instance, be left to select its own officials in the old way, but steps should be taken without loss of time to improve the system of selection in friendly consultation with the Emperor's Government, which should be strengthened and respected in every possible way, and spared all ridicule or loss of "face." Provision of some sort would have to be made during a number of years for the hordes of hungry expectants, five of whom probably exist for each of the 2,000 available commissions, *i.e.*, 10,000 in all. This would be one of the most difficult matters; but openings would undoubtedly be found by degrees in the reformed administrations; in any case, their rights are vested, and under no circumstances ought a large educated class, possessing legal expectations, to be cast penniless and discontented upon an empire in process of reorganization. The achievements of Lord Cromer in Egypt prove that all this is well within the possible capacity of a man like Sir Robert Hart, who is by far the most faithful, self-effacing, and industrious foreign

servant the Manchus ever had; and if he is willing at the age of sixty-five to remain in harness, it is quite certain that he would be a most *grata persona.* The next best man in the Far East is Mr. J. McLeavy Brown. As to the army and navy, recent events prove that effective reorganization could rapidly proceed upon beaten lines, and that the Chinese possess admirable raw material.

If Great Britain alone were concerned, there would be no difficulty in turning out a regenerated "China for the Chinese" in one single generation, just as has been done in the case of Egypt or Burma. Under the British flag all men are equal before the law, and all white men have equal social privileges besides, the term "white man" now including by extension "Japanese"; but, unfortunately, the broad and generous principles which have made such a success out of British colonial administration are not shared by France, Germany, or Russia; and consequently, whilst Great Britain would be quite content to utilize French, Russian, or German administrators, working on British principles of equity or equality, it is almost certain that the officers of those Powers, if trusted with control, would act on the principle of privilege for themselves: they have not got genuine freedom in their blood. Certainly, Germany has made some show of governing Kiao Chou upon liberal British principles, but there is no guarantee that this policy is more than a temporary makeshift in order to gain a specific end. Even if Russia were theoretically disposed to adopt a liberal attitude, and to throw her country—or, at all events, her "sphere"—frankly open to the world's competition, it is doubtful if she practically could or durst do so. The whole Russian system rests upon the ignorance and subjection of the masses. As a Russian Minister once said with warmth to me: "We are distinctly of opinion that the English system of liberty for the masses is a stupid mistake. The masses are unfit in all countries, and especially in Russia, to judge what is best for themselves; and it is for the small body of educated and trained men, who make a

business of ruling, to decide this matter for them." Were the ruling Russians to admit Americans and Englishmen to Port Arthur and Vladivostock as we admit Russians to Hong Kong, the ignorant Russians would naturally expect equal rights and freedom for themselves. In short, Russia is bound for ever by her own principles either to keep her people in subjection and ignorance or to abandon her autocratic system. No educated nation will tolerate the "autocracy" of a mere *camarilla*. As to France, she is as splendid in science as she is hopeless in commerce. Not a single French possession of importance in the whole world can be said to pay its way satisfactorily. It is like a gay old beau keeping up a big harem to vindicate his decaying virility. In every case it is "exclusive privileges for the French;" and if the French cannot succeed themselves on those terms, "then no one else shall succeed under our flag." The United States are equally anxious with ourselves to obtain the open door for their own benefit when they are outside, but they are far from equally ready with ourselves to extend the benefits of an open door to others when they themselves are the keepers. Japan has proved herself up to the hilt worthy of our respect and our confidence, and it is a pity that a prominent man like Mr. Mitford ever allowed himself to print in the *Times* so narrow a view as that subsequently echoed by the *Spectator*. In courtesy and chivalry, in military capacity, statesmanship, and personal bravery, Japan is fully the equal of any Continental nation. Though the Japanese stature is small, and the skin yellow, the stuff within is as worthy of our friendship and alliance as any French, German, or Russian material, and Japan has fully earned her right to have a leading vote in the question. Her bravery has saved her from the Asiatic ruin. Unfortunately, Japan's commercial principles are not so sound or trustworthy as those of her political administration; but she is a nation with such immense pluck and capacity for introspective reform, that it is quite possible she may mend her ways and become more liberal even in that respect;

perhaps the present want of liberality is partly owing to incomplete confidence in her own strength to deal judicially with all foreign rights under the powers given her by recent treaties. She has not yet the full courage of her equality and independence. However that may all be, in arranging a future for China, we must calculate with the opposing interests of at least five great Powers—Germany, America, Japan, Russia, and France—all of whom are now conterminous with China; and it would certainly be a great triumph for Christian diplomacy if the six Powers chiefly concerned could settle between themselves and China some fair scheme which should secure at once lasting peace and independence for China coupled with an equality of right for themselves.

If Chinese laws and the administration of them were at all tolerable, or even possible, it would assuredly be a desirable thing to get rid at once of extra-territoriality, which saps the vitality of any nation to which it is applied. This was the great bugbear of shame to the Japanese, who fought long and fiercely for its abolition. How is it possible for a Government in whose face any stranger can shake his fist to stand with dignity before its own people? Picture the result to ourselves if all the German waiters, Italian organ-grinders, and French cooks in London were taken gingerly by policemen before their own consuls whenever found offending against London by-laws. And imagine the further effect if Swedenborgians, Oneida Free Lovers, Mormons, Skoptsi, and Shakers had their agents getting up Salvation Army brawls with the colliers of Wigan, the crofters of Scotland, and the peasantry of Connaught on petty subjects of "doctrine" every day. Certainly, it is the fault of the Chinese that their judicial procedure is so barbarous that concessions such as Europe has made to Japan are at present impossible; yet it must be remembered that thirty years ago it would have seemed as absurd to grant "home justice" even to Japan. But if we must administer the law upon our own subjects in China,

at least we ought to take care that they do not press their privileges beyond the limit of reason. Missionaries may fairly have secured to them the right to insist upon entry into towns where there is manifestly bad faith in the attempt to keep them out; but they ought to be subjected to local by-laws and customs like anyone else, and it should not be tolerated that they take any native under their protection. Better have a foreign judge to administer Chinese law for China than have appeals to foreign courts. It is, however, a hopeless, endless circle as things now stand. The authorities will always show bad faith so long as it is thought to be against the public interest for missionaries to be in their localities; and missionaries will always be querulous and aggressive so long as they see a dishonest attempt is being made to curtail their freedom of action. The only correct attitude is that adopted by the Orthodox Church, which tolerates no internal interference, and admits any convert, but makes no attempts whatever at conversion or proselytism. So long as Catholics prowled about in secret, and secured the faithful at the risk of life and torture, there was at least something elevating in the idea of a teacher's courage or a convert's firm belief in face of such dangers. But now, although the medical missions do splendid work, and one or two of the purely proselytizing missions have many members who patiently live hard and uncomfortable lives amidst hostile and ungrateful populations, it may be truthfully said of the body of missionaries—fully admitting the good intentions of all—that as Catholics, even if earnest, they are often involuntary mischief-makers, whilst some Protestants, even if earnest, are unwittingly injudicious. In both cases the native article produced by their efforts is too often void of sincerity or reality, and no one is less able than a missionary to discern it. In any case, the cost of making this hybrid article is totally disproportionate to the risk and expense incurred. In 1898 there were fifty-four Protestant missions established in the eighteen Chinese and three Manchurian provinces, each

mission having from one to twenty or more stations. Thus, taking all Catholics—Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, Friars Minor, Missions Etrangères, etc.—as one, there were fifty-five religions for the distracted Chinese to choose from, Swedish, Canadian, Scotch, English, German, Norwegian, Dutch, American, Danish, and "Zenana"; six kinds of Baptist; five kinds of Methodist; eight kinds of Presbyterian, Friends, Disciples, Lutherans, Brethren, and so on. The China Inland had missions in sixteen out of eighteen provinces, no other equalling it by half. In or about the same year the Jesuits alone had 250 foreign priests in the two Kiang Nan provinces, and 112,000 native Christians, against fifty-two priests and 60,000 Christians fifty years ago. The Jesuits also have a mission of 30,000 Christians in South Chih Li. Then there are the Missions Etrangères, with about 150,000 Christians, in the four provinces of South-West China, in Tibet, and in Manchuria; the Lazarists in Chêh Kiang, North-West Chih Li, and Kiang Si; the Franciscans in Shen Si, Shan Si, Hu Peh, Hu Nan, Shan Tung; the Dominicans in Fuh Kien; the Milan Congregation in Ho Nan; the Belgian (Immaculate Heart) Congregation in Mongolia. Of course, most of these missionaries mean well, and, in very many cases, devote their whole lives to the ungrateful task; but it is the monstrous combination of extra-territorial jurisdiction with religion which so rankles in the Chinese mind, and unless we temper our militant zeal with plain common-sense humanity, we men of European race will continue for ever abhorrent in the eyes of one third of our kind.

> "Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens;
> 'Tis just the fashion: wherefore do you look
> Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?"
>
> *As You Like It.*

MISSIONARY TROUBLES IN CHINA.

By Taw Sein Ko, M.R.A.S.

Some writers on China are inclined to class opium and missionaries in the same category, as both of them are apt to give rise to political complications. There have been two wars in connection with the opium trade, but there is no limit to troubles connected with missionaries and their native converts. The Chinese, individually and collectively, acknowledge the great good that has been done to their country by Christian missionaries, especially in the departments of education, diffusion of Western knowledge, and medical relief, but they draw the line at any interference with their village organization, their ancient customs, and the administration of justice.

Although in theory the Chinese Government is a despotic monarchy, in practice it is more democratic than the Republican Government of France or the United States of America. Taxation is very light; there is no standing army; there are very few officials; and the people are allowed to govern themselves much in their own way. In China the village is the administrative unit, and is governed by elected elders of the clan. Marriage is exogamous, and each village is inhabited by the members of the same clan, so the duty of governing it is somewhat easy, because disputes are invariably settled by compromise. The belief in the divine right of kings is still the prevailing cultus in China, though it has been exploded and discarded elsewhere. The Emperor is the "Son of Heaven," and, as in Russia, is the mediator between God and man. The officials are the delegates of the Emperor, and are the "father and mother of the people." The heads of the households or the patriarchs of the villages are, again, representatives of the officials to whom Imperial authority is relegated. Thus, in the whole series of men in authority, from the obscure head of each family up to the Emperor,

there is a well-defined gradation of rank, and each is a demi-god on earth. Now, the introduction of certain missionaries disturbs this order of things, which has been in existence during the last 5,000 years. Incense is no longer burnt in each house at nightfall; no offerings are made to the manes of the dead ancestors; the pictures of patron saints and deified heroes are pulled down from the walls; in short, the breaking away of the native converts from the old moorings is too sudden, abrupt, and radical. The last straw that breaks the camel's back is that the authority of the chief of the clan is set at naught, and, upon the advice of missionaries, no contributions are paid by native converts towards festivals, processions, etc., without which life in the villages would be a dreadful monotony. Thus the pockets of the non-professing Christians are touched in that the burden of the annual expenses falls upon them more heavily *pro rata*. To add insult to injury, churches and schools and mission-houses are built overlooking the residences of the local officials and gentry, and this nonconformity to their ideas of seemliness and of *feng-shin* rankles in Chinese minds. Again, in litigation, the converts occupy a more favourable position, as they can always count upon the assistance of their missionaries, who enjoy the privilege, recently confirmed by Imperial edict, of interviewing all officials, from the Viceroy to the district magistrate. Further, it is open to the missionaries to see their own Consuls and have representations made to the Tsung-li-Yamên through their Ministers at Peking. The voiceless and unrepresented millions of Chinese peasantry resent such treatment, and deeply and silently deplore the threatened loss of their status, rights, and liberty. The result is that a loud outcry is raised against foreigners in general and missionaries in particular, and ancient societies which were originally formed for the purpose of affording mutual protection and assistance against tyranny, injustice, and oppression, are revived with some measure of political importance.

A most regrettable mistake was committed when mis-

sionaries were first allowed to reside in isolated villages in the interior for the purpose of propagating their religion. It must be remembered that the facilities of communication in China are very poor, and that the existing machinery for the protection of life and property is flagrantly ineffectual, and, under the circumstances, it is hardly consonant with reason or sound logic to hold a Government responsible for the occurrence of events against which it is quite powerless to provide proper safeguards. Owing to sudden popular resentment and fury, missionaries get killed in Shantung, Ssuch'uen, or Fukkien, and the Central Government at Peking, which is quite unaware of the circumstances of such sad occurrences, is held responsible. An inquiry is made, the culprits are decapitated, a large sum of money is mulcted by way of compensation to the bereaved families of the deceased, and to defray the expenses of building a memorial church, tablet, or window. This process is repeated over and over again, till the Central Government, which exists by popular sufferance and maintains itself by prestige alone, "loses face" with its subjects; the country gradually gets out of hand; there are more disturbances, more killing of foreigners, without distinction of sect or nationality; and the grip of the foreign Powers on the helpless Government at Peking becomes more and more tightened. The spectacle thus presented to the world is not without its humorous aspect, and would be unbecoming in the case of humble individuals. As a thunderclap on such a pitiable condition of affairs came that Imperial edict confirming official status on certain missionaries, which was, no doubt, issued at the instigation of some of the foreign Ministers, who were not far-seeing enough to see the inevitable consequences of their own acts. The baneful nature of the edict was evident from the unanimous refusal of the Anglican missionaries to participate in the apparent benefits conferred by it.

It is not known how long the present disturbances in China will last, but it is certain that demands put forward

by the foreign Powers for compensation for the death of their subjects will involve enormous sums of money. Whenever the pacification may be completed one thing may be urged, and that is, that the integrity and independence of China and the continued peace of the world will depend much upon the sense of moderation, reasonableness, and chivalry in the counsels of the foreign Governments, and that in striking the balance-sheet it should be borne in mind that China has been more sinned against than sinning.

Out of evil cometh good. Advantage may be taken of the military situation to insist on the introduction of salutary reforms. China, after the Boxer rebellion, will be like Egypt after the rebellion by Arabi Pasha. The Central Government will bow to the inevitable destiny, and become responsive to outside pressure and disinterested counsels, and the bulk of the people will welcome and cheerfully acquiesce in the introduction of any measures that are intended for their health, wealth, prosperity, and their continued existence as an independent nation with an unparalleled long line of traditions of hoary antiquity.



THE SULTAN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

By S. H. Fitzjohn.

What truth is there in the saying, "To possess Tripoli is to command the Sudan"? It was Rohlfs who gave currency to the thought that the master of Tripoli is the master of the Sudan when he wrote in *L'Esploratore* (January, 1881): "Chi possederà questa terra sarà il padrone del Sudan.' It is a saying that has been much discussed, and in Italy it has become wellnigh a maxim. Now, as Tripoli is an Ottoman possession, it is the Sultan whom it most concerns; but, in the many discussions regarding the future of Lake Chad and Central Africa, a surprising omission has been the consideration of the rights of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman protests have been little heeded, but it is evident from the many reports about secret missions and military activity that the Sultan means what he says, and is resolved to make good his claims. I have deemed it well, in view of imminent possibilities, to consider these Ottoman rights, and to review the considerations that may be adduced in behalf of them. It will be best, however, to give, not an account of my own, but that of Count Charles Kinsky, who has defined the Ottoman sphere in his "Diplomatists' Handbook for Africa" (London, 1897). "The western part of the Libyan Desert," he says, "and the eastern part of the Sahara, with the Taiserbo, Buseima and Kebabo (Kufra) Oases; the districts of Tibesti or Tu, Nanyanga, Borku, Bodele, Ennedi, the Kawar Oasis; the district Kanem and the Sultanate Wadai, to which the larger part of the former Baghirmi country is now tributary, are considered as a sort of international sphere of interest of the Ottoman Empire. The southern part of Baghirmi, however, is claimed by France as belonging to its sphere of interest in North Ubangi. This Ottoman sphere of interest is bounded on the west by the caravan route from Kuka (Bornu) to Murzuk (Fezzan); the south by Tsad Lake,

and about the 12° north latitude; on the east by the States belonging to the Mahdi's empire, Dar Fur, Kordofan, and West Nubia, as well as by Egypt. The whole trade of this immense territory is chiefly directed towards Tripoli and Benghazi, and only a very small part to Egypt and the dominion of the Caliph of Omderman" (pp. 8, 9). The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Professor Paulitschke of Vienna. "It is to his clear and comprehensive lectures," he says, "based upon concise and intimate knowledge, as well as to the study of the literature recommended by him, that I owe an accurate and reliable insight into the social and political relations prevailing in Africa." This, then, may be regarded as an academic view of the Ottoman sphere which was held in the University of Vienna. I have cited it in order to show that the Ottoman claims have received recognition in the academic world, since it may be regarded as devoid of political considerations.

It was in 1890, in a note from the Porte on November 30, that the Ottoman claims were set forth, in view of the Anglo-French Agreement of August 5, 1890. These claims have generally been regarded as exaggerated, and have received scant consideration in the partition of Africa. But it must be remembered that the Sultan assumed the position of speaking on behalf of Egypt as well as of Tripoli. It was the Sultan's representative at the Berlin Conference (November 15, 1884, to February 26, 1885) who upheld the rights of Egypt in the Upper Nile and Upper Ubangi, when the representatives of the several Powers accepted the 4th parallel of north latitude and the 30th meridian of east longitude as the limits of territory to north and east, which was open to occupation by the Congo Free State. This position was recognised by France down to 1894, when the policy of *devance* became the order of the day. When the agreement of May 12, 1894, between England and the King of the Belgians was announced, France protested in the name of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but in the Convention of August 14, 1894, between France

and the King of the Belgians as Sovereign of the Congo Free State, the territory of the Congo State was recognised up to the median line of the Mbomu and the watershed of the Nile. Thus, territory in the basin of the Upper Ubangi, which had been recognised at the Berlin Conference as within the Ottoman sphere, was signed away by France in 1894, notwithstanding her own protest, in which the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was cited against the proceedings of Great Britain. France, however, not only signed away this territory to the Congo State, but took possession of the northern part of the Mbomu basin. As soon as the Ubangi became known in 1885, its possible importance was at once recognised by the French, and after long and animated discussions and negotiations, its median line became the common limit of the Congo State and the French colony in the Convention of April 29, 1887. The agents of France had followed the lead of the Congo State, and founded the post of Bangui on the right bank, opposite Zongo, in June, 1889; that of Mobaye, opposite Banziville, in August, 1891; and that of Abira, opposite Yakoma, in September, 1891. Up to 1894 France recognised the claims of Egypt and of Turkey to the Mbomu basin. On French maps, as in French policy, the limit to the east remained below the confluence of the Mbomu and the Welle.

It was the Congo State that was the first to pass beyond its own limits as defined at the Berlin Conference. Between 1891 and 1894 its agents pushed ahead in all directions into the former territories of Egypt. In 1892 military posts or political agencies had been set up at Rafai, Sandu, Darbaki, and Dinda among the A-Banja or A-Zande of the west; at Sango, Yanguba, Zwarra, and Yangu, in Dar Banda; at several places among the Krej in Dar Fartit; and along the valley of the Welle a chain of posts had been formed. In 1893 the agents of the Congo State occupied several posts in Bahr-al-Ghazal and in the basin of the Bahr-al-Jabal at Kiri, Muggi, Labox, and Dufile, which

were the old military posts of General Gordon. Then, in 1894, other agents of the Congo State proceeded up the Bali and the Kotto into the basin of the Shari and Dar Runga.

When the agents of the Congo State vacated these posts north of the Mbomu, in accordance with the Franco-Belgian Convention of 1894, the agents of France took possession, and then penetrated into the Bahr-al-Ghazal by way of the Mbomu and Boku, and to Dem Zubair, the old capital of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province. In July, 1894, the territories of France above Bangni were constituted a separate province, called the Haut-Oubangui, or Upper Ubangi.

Now, when Schweinfurth visited the heart of Africa in 1869-70, he found that the Khartum traders had already passed beyond the basin of the Bahr-al-Ghazal into that of the Mbomu, and in 1882-84, when Lupton was Governor of the Bhar-al-Ghazal, the Egyptian possessions as administered by him extended to the Upper Kotto; that is to say, the whole of the Mbomu basin was within the administrative province of the Bahr-al-Ghazal.

By the Anglo-French Agreement of March 21, 1899, this territory has been recognised by England as within the French sphere. It was considered by Junker the best part of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province. Whether the Sultan could or would have maintained his claim on behalf of Egypt need not be considered here. It suffices to note that considerations may be adduced in support of the Ottoman claims which were put forth in 1890, and renewed in 1899.

This territory has been viewed as formerly belonging to Egypt, but even if the Porte had spoken of it in relation to Tripoli, it would not have been quite so preposterous as it may at first appear, since it is in accordance with fact. Dar Banda is in commercial relation with Wadai, and through it with Tripoli. When Hanolet and Stroobant, the agents of the Congo State, made their way to Dar Banda and Dar Runga in 1894, they were surprised to

meet with a Tripoli merchant. They soon learnt what Nachdigal had indicated, that there is a caravan highway from Abeshr in Wadai, through Kuka in Dar Runga to Yangu in Dar Banda. The Arab caravaniers of Wadai and Dar Runga, some of them on behalf of the Sultan of Wadai, come annually in the dry season to sell European goods for ivory, which is abundant in the basin of the Mbomu. This caravan highway from Yangu to Kuka passes through Mereke (which is Aja or Krej), Dombago, Yanguru, Sabanga, Moruba, Wundu, and Mbele, or Bele, whence a branch leads off through Mokubanda to Katuaka and Wofrat-en-Nahas. Besides this commercial relation, Dar Banda as well as Dar Runga are connected with the north through the agents of the Sanusi Order, who have proselytized down to Dar Banda.

The case of Dar Runga cannot very well be separated from that of Wadai. Not only is it a dependency of Wadai, but the ivory that comes to Tripoli and Benghazi from Wadai is derived from Dar Runga. The French have been very keen to open relations with Dar Runga, and draw its trade, if possible, to Brazzaville. It was announced from Bangni in June, 1898, that the Sultan of Dar Runga had sent a caravan to the Ubangi, and in all probability they will succeed in this aim, which concerns both Tripoli and Wadai.

At the beginning of the present century Wadai had commercial relations with Tripoli and Egypt. The caravan highway to the Nile from Wadai passes through Kobbe, the commercial capital of Darfur, either to Khartum or to Asyut. This latter line of communication is the old highway of trade, the Darb-al-Arba'in, or Highway of the Forty (Days). But a new caravan highway was opened in the early part of the present century between Wadai and Benghazi. The highway of trade between this port and Abeshr, the capital of Wadai, passes through Aujila, Jalo, Kufara, and Wanyanga, and occupies an ordinary caravan some four months, on account of the formidable difficulties

of the Libyan desert, and the long halts at places provided with water and pasturage. From Benghazi to Aujila, oasis and town, it is 10 days of travel and 2 of rest; to Jalo, oasis and town, 1 day of travel and 3 days of rest; to Battifall, a well, which is the last on the southern border of the Libyan desert, 1 day of travel and 2 days of rest; to Kufra or Kebabo, 12 days of travel, 3 days of rest by the way, and 15 days of rest at Kufra; to Tukru, the first well on the southern border of the Libyan desert, 17 days of travel and 4 days of rest; to Wanyanga, 3 days of travel and 6 days of rest; to Arada, a town where all caravans stop and send a courier to Abeshr to obtain the Sultan of Wadai's permission to continue their journey, 24 days of travel and 14 days of rest; to Abeshr, 4 days of travel. In all there are some 121 days, 72 days of travel and 49 days of rest, between Benghazi and Abeshr. A light caravan may manage to do it in 89 or 90 days. From Tripoli the caravan highway skirts the coast as far as Sirt, and then turns southward to Jofra or Zella and Kufra. Notwithstanding the formidable difficulties of this line of communication, there are two things that will help strongly to maintain it. One of the most enterprising tribes is the Mejabra tribe of Aujila and Jalo. They are keen traders, and have their own tribal caravan. Another tribe which conducts the trade between Benghazi and Wadai is the Zewaya of Kufra. All of these will make an effort to keep this trade along this highway. Another thing is that this highway passes through the domain of the Sanusi Order, the capital of which is now in Kufra. The Shaikh of the Sanusi has been busy improving this route by digging wells and providing ports of call. Such has been his success, it is reported that it is now possible to perform the journey without hardship.

It is most likely, however, that the highway of trade up the Nile from Alexandria to Dongola will become the chief line of communication. Dongola is some 1,100 miles from Alexandria by rail and river. With the railway facilities of

Upper Egypt and the Sudan, goods can arrive at Dongola from Alexandria or Cairo in one-half or one-third of the time which it takes them to arrive at Aujila from Benghazi, some 220 miles. Hence it seems probable that Dongola may become the depot for the Wadai trade, and become such an entrepot for the Central Sudan as Ghat is for the Western Sudan.

Besides this highway from Dongola through Kobbe, there is also the line of communication from Khartum through Kordofan and Darfur. If a railway is built from the Nile to Darfur, it will probably follow this route, and thereby develop an important artery of trade. But this line of communication is one of the old highways of the Hajj between Hausaland and the Nile for the Muslim pilgrims from Nigeria, and it seemed to many in 1898 that the Anglo-Egyptian sphere might well have comprised Wadai in order to uphold and develop the relations of the Nile Valley with Lake Chad and the Central Sudan. In the course of the negotiations Lord Salisbury recognised the feasibility of this demand, but did not persist in it when it became evident that much importance was attached in France to the unification of their African colonies by the possession of territory to the north and east of Lake Chad.

The aim of France has been "la réunion sur les rives du lac Tchad des possessions Français du Soudan, de l'Algérie et du Congo Français." That phrase has become historic, and now that the aim has been achieved in the person of M. Foureau, it remains to be seen what success will attend the efforts to make it effective. I have reviewed the position of Dar Banda, Dar Runga and Wadai in relation to the Ottoman claims, and in relation to Tripoli in order to show that regarded from the side of Egypt and from the side of Tripoli, those territories might well be considered as within the Ottoman sphere. With regard to Wadai, probability seems to be on the side of the Nile Valley as the most feasible line of communication, but it is necessary to keep in view the possible lines up the Niger and Binue as

well as a possible line from Kamerun. These are the several lines of communication which will compete for commercial ascendancy in the basin of Lake Chad. The old highway of trade from Tripoli and Benghazi is threatened with a loss of its traffic by the facilities that are afforded by way of the Niger and the Nile. Now that Wadai and Baghirmi have been assigned to the French sphere, will France succeed in monopolizing the trade by drawing it down to the Ubangi and Congo? But if that is the aim the policy of France pulls in opposite directions. In the one, it seeks to penetrate the Sudan in order to draw the trade to Algeria and Tunisia; in the other, it professes a pacific aim in approaching the Sultans of Dar Runga and Wadai to open up commercial relations with these potentates by way of the Congo. What justification is there, then, for the policy which seeks to arrive at Lake Chad from Algeria or Tunisia? It seems a futile aim, and, possible as it is, it can hardly be deemed a feasible aim when it is viewed in relation to Tripoli.

It is the relation of Tripoli to the Sudan that most concerns the Sultan, for the importance of Tripoli practically consists in its position as the chief gateway of the Sudan. Its form fits it peculiarly for acting as a channel of trade, since it penetrates far into the continent from its maritime base. The starting-points of the caravans such as Tripoli, Khoms and Benghazi are some 250 miles nearer to the Sudan than Tunis, Philippeville, Algiers and Oran, and the railways which now connect Oran and Philippeville with Ain-sefra and Biskra cannot compete with the Tripolitan routes. Through its depots, Ghadamis, Ghat, Murzuk, and its merchant houses, which have long been familiar with the demands and tastes of the Sudanese, Tripoli is more intimately connected than any other North African territory with Central Africa. The commercial sphere of Tripoli includes the wide tracts between Lake Chad and the Niger; the Bornu lands with the towns of Kuka, Mashena, and Zinder; the Hausa lands with the towns of Kano,

Katsena, Sokoto and the western Zinder, northern Adamawa, and Baghirmi; the Tuarik of the Sahara; Air or Ashen with Tintellust and Agades; the Tubu of Tibesti and Kawar; Borku, Kanem and Wadai; even the Algerian Suf, the Mzab, the Tuat oasis and Tombouctou. This caravan trade of Tripoli may be divided into three parts: that to the Western Sudan, Kano, and Sokoto, which is monopolized by the Ghadamsine merchants established in Tripoli; that to Bornu, which is engaged in by the Jewish and European merchants of Tripoli; and that to Wadai, by Tripoli Arab traders. The most important routes are those that radiate from Ghadamis. Hence they run north-westwards through the Areg, the South Algerian sand-dunes, to Wargla and the Suf; south-westwards through El-Biodh to Insalah, the chief of the Tuat oases and Tombouctou; south-westwards direct by Tombouctou by Temassinia, Amguid, the Egere plateau and Ideles; southwards by Ghat, Air, and Agades to Zinder, Tessana, Kano, and Sokoto. Ghat is the great entrepot between Tripoli and the Western Sudan, and forms the real point of arrival from, and departure to, Kano. Two large caravans arrive at Ghat yearly, and the merchandise reaches Tripoli in small quantities at a time. A caravan from Tripoli to the Sudan makes a long stay at Ghat, camels are exchanged, and contracts are made with the Tuarik for the supply of camels and safe conduct at their hands through the country between Ghat and Kano. Including stoppages, the march of caravans seldom exceeds twelve miles a day, taking about eight weeks to reach Ghat from Tripoli, and ten to twelve weeks more to arrive at Kano. The monopoly of the Tripoli-Western Sudan trade which is enjoyed by the Ghadamsine merchants residing in the town of Tripoli is ascribed, by the Consul-General in his report on the vilayet of Tripoli for 1897, apart from their superior intelligence and business habits, to the geographical position of their birthplace, an oasis in Tuarik territory, giving them a knowledge of the Arabic, Hausa,

and Tuarik languages, in addition to their own language, a dialect of the Berber. The caravans for Bornu choose the road through the Hamada el Homra or through the Jofra oasis to Murzuk, and thence through Gatrun and the Kawar oasis to Barrua and Kuka on Lake Chad. The caravan highway to Wadai, which is the hardest and longest, has been already described. These caravan highways are partly determined by Nature and partly prescribed by the tribes who receive pay for the protection afforded by them to caravans in passing through their territory. For the most part they are the same to-day as in past centuries, the old directions being maintained partly by the conservativeness of the Arabs, and partly by the desire of the tribes that profit by them. It is mainly owing to this cause that the French have met with such formidable difficulties in opening up new caravan highways from Algeria, and in penetrating the Sudan.

Now, this caravan trade, on which the prosperity of Tripoli mainly depends, has been decreasing for many years. "There can be little doubt," said the Consul-General in his report for 1897, "that the Tripoli caravan trade has seen its best days, and the facilities now offered and availed of by the waterways of the Niger and Binue will yearly militate against its prosperity, and ultimately end disastrously." And in a special report of this year on the agriculture and natural resources of the vilayet, he says it can hardly be doubted that the caravan trade of Tripoli is doomed in the near future to diminution, and probably ultimate extinction, by reason of British, German, and French commercial enterprise in the south availing itself of the additional facilities for trade presented by the waterways of the Niger and Binue.

Only in the case of the caravan trade with Wadai is there a good report. In the case of Tripoli it is said in the Vice-Consul's report for 1899 that trade with the interior of Africa, although still unsatisfactory, is on the whole not so unpromising as it was in 1898. While it has practically

ceased with Bornu, and is interrupted or precariously carried on with Central Sudan, it has decidedly improved with Wadai, where the efforts of the new Sultan Ibrahim to encourage commerce with his dominions have borne good fruit. And in the report from Benghazi the Consul says that an improvement in the caravan trade with the interior has been maintained, considerable profits having been made by caravans trading in Kanem and Wadai. It is much to be feared that this will not prove permanent. In all probability the highway of trade up the Nile Valley will draw away most of the Wadai trade, just as the highway up the Niger is securing the trade of the Central Sudan.

How, then, is the loss of this caravan trade between Tripoli and the Sudan to be avoided? Or must the loss be regarded as inevitable? It has been proposed to introduce railways. The vilayet of Tripoli has an area of about 410,000 square miles, or more than three times greater than that of Great Britain and Ireland. About three-fifths of it are unproductive, consisting of sandy and rocky wastes and plateau. This leaves about 164,000 square miles of more or less fertile and productive soil. Almost all of this land is found between the sea and the Tripoli range of hills on the south. It varies in breadth from 90 miles, near Nalut on the west, to 40 or 60 miles near Tarhuna on the east. It is some 400 miles in length from the Tunisian frontier on the west to Sert on the Gulf of Syrta, the boundary line between Tripoli and Barca in the west. The most fertile portion of this littoral tract is from Cape Misurata on the east to Zarira, 50 miles to the west of Tripoli; it is some 150 miles in length by 40 to 60 in breadth. The Fezzan contains about 120,000 square miles, only 3,000 of which are oases. The railways that have been proposed are to Ghadamis by way of Zuara; to Gharian; and to Murzuk by way of Khoms, Zeliten, Misurata, and Sokna.

A look at the map will be assisted by the following

distances between the town of Tripoli and the principal towns of the vilayet. They are calculated at 25 miles a day by camel march, the hour's journey by camel being calculated at 5 kilometres, or 3·106 miles. From Tripoli to Murzuk it is 730 miles, or 29 days; to Ghadamis, 497 miles, or 20 days; to Ghat, 938 miles, or 38 days; to Khoms, 68 miles, or 3 days; to Sokna, 373 miles, or 15 days; to Sebkha, 543 miles, or 22 days; to Gatrun, 869 miles, or 35 days. And the following is the approximate male adult population of some of the towns, as given in the Salnama, or official handbook of the province, for 1896: Tripoli city, 20,750; Tripoli district, 65,000; Gharian, 13,256; Zaira, 44,470; Zuara, 3,251; Khoms, 5,840; Misurata, 33,103; Zeliten, 30,500; Sirt, 2,078; Ifrin, 6,107; Ghadamis, 2,812; Mizda, 1,820; Murzuk, 306; Ghat, 950; Sokna, 1,420; Shati, 2,780; Zella, 500; Wadi Gharbi, 435; Gatrun, 200.

Now, if Tripoli had only to compete with Algeria or even with Tunis for the Sudan trade, there can be little doubt that the commercial ascendancy would remain with Tripoli. Even as it is, the railways of Algeria cannot compete with the Tripolitan caravan highways, and if one railway was built to Ghadamir and another to Murzuk, these would have immense advantages in competition for the Sudan trade from the Mediterranean littoral. These would be shorter than the Algerian railway to Ouargla, and would penetrate further towards the centre of Africa by nearly two degrees of latitude.

But the competition which Tripoli has to contend with is that directed from the French, British, and German colonies on the Atlantic coast, and more especially along the trade routes up the Niger and Binue. When this problem is fully considered, the solution that will probably be arrived at is the building of a trans-Saharan railway from Tripoli to the Sudan. What, then, is the most feasible route for such a line of communication to follow? In order to develop as much as possible of Tripoli and the Fezzan, it

will be best to proceed along the coast from Tripoli to Khoms and Misurata, whence the line will pass through Sokna, Murzuk, and Bilma (Kawar) to the Sudan. Between Tripoli and Murzuk there are many possibilities of trade; but between Murzuk and the Sudan the chief oasis is that of Kawar. The most important part of this oasis is the central district of Bilona, and it plays a most important part in the economic relations of the Sudan. It is celebrated for its salines, which supply the greater part of Central Africa. These consist of shallow basins on a great bed of rock-salt. As salt is a commodity which the Sudan has vital need of, a line of railway from Tripoli would have this local traffic, in which it is said as many as 70,000 camels are constantly engaged. A camel-load of salt, it is said, costs about four shillings at Bilona, and is often sold for six to eight pounds in the Sudan. But the cost of transport is so heavy that there is a possibility of the salt imported by way of the Niger driving the Bilona salt from the Sudan markets. The commercial needs of Tripoli and of the highway of trade between it and the Sudan can only be met by the facilities of communication which a railway affords.

There is another consideration which may be adduced in support of a railway along Tripolitan littoral to the west. A scheme has often been mooted for a North African railway from Morocco to Egypt. From Tripoli it would probably pass through Zella and Aujila to Siwa and Alexandria. Hence a railway between Tripoli and the Sudan by way of Murzuk would form part of this North African railway up to Sokna.

Here, then, is a Tripolitan scheme for a trans-Saharan railway which involves the consideration of the sovereign rights of the territory between the Fezzan and Lake Chad. This is the tract which most concerns the Ottoman claims.

It will be best, however, to consider first the Trans-Saharan schemes, which must be regarded as the rivals of this Tripolitan scheme. There are several of them, but

the chief are the western, the central, and the eastern. The western is a prolongation of the railway from Oran to Ain-Sefra, Djenien bou Resg, Duvegrier, Igli, Touat, and the Niger. The second, or central, starts from Algiers and proceeds through Berronaghia, Laghouat, and Ouargla, either through Touat to the Niger or through Amguid to Lake Chad. The third, or eastern, starts from Philippeville, and proceeds through Biskra, Ouargla, Amguid, Asin, Air, and Aghades to Zinder and Lake Chad.

When these schemes were discussed at the Geographical Congress at Algiers last year, M. Augustin Bernard, the Secretary-General of the Algiers Geographical Society, said that the true strategic and political railway, like the Transcaspian, is that from Oran, by way of the oasis of Touat, which will have the same relation to Morocco as the Transcaspian has to Persia. If that scheme is adopted, then it is proposed to continue the railway down the Niger, and ultimately carry it to Lake Chad, through Zinder to Barrona. But most active support is given to the third or eastern scheme. It has been advocated by M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu, the eminent economist, in some articles in the *Journal des Débats* and the *Economiste Français* on the unification of the African empire of France and the strategical necessity of the Trans-Saharan. This is practically the route which M. Foureau followed.

A look at the map will show that none of those routes interfere much with the proposed Trans-Saharan from Tripoli. But there is a fourth scheme which has been much vaunted. It starts from Bou-Grara, in the south-east of Tunisia, and it is designed to pass through Ghadamis and Ghat, and to proceed to Lake Chad by way of Bir al-Amar, the oasis of Kawar and Bilma. The supporters of this scheme advocate it as the shortest of the French schemes, and hold that the Gulf of Bon-Grara will make possible a port superior even to Bizerta. It is this scheme which comes nearest to being a rival of the Tripoli and Chad schemes. It will be noticed that

Ghadamis and Ghat, both of which belong to Tripoli, are on the line of communication. But an advocate of this scheme, M. E. Blanc, when discussing the routes from the north coast of Africa to the Sudan in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* in 1890, declared in his final words that France will take, by means as pacific as possible, but with the tenacity which her natural right justifies, this route passing through Ghadamis and Ghat, which towns she will one day occupy.

M. Bernard said last year that, before asking where the Trans-Saharan is to pass, it is necessary to ask, Shall it pass anywhere? There is, it seems, a strong feeling in France that it only remains to consider the route. It is very necessary that the scheme for a railway from Tripoli to Lake Chad should have immediate consideration with regard to its feasibility, both in relation to the commercial needs of Tripoli and the Sudan and in relation to the rival schemes of France. If the Oran scheme were adopted, a very slight compromise might satisfy the rival claims of Turkey and France to the territory between Tripoli and the Sudan. Even if the eastern route were chosen through Biskra, Amguid, and Air, this line would hardly encroach upon the legitimate demands of the Sultan. But when it is proposed to build a line through Ghadamis, Ghat, and Bilma, France and Turkey come face to face with a formidable problem in politics as well as in economics. It may be possible to combine the schemes. A Trans-Saharan might be built through Ottoman territory by way of Ghadamis, Ghat, and Bilma to Lake Chad, and a French line might then connect Ghadamis with Bon-Grara, and make possible the desiderated Bon-Grara and Congo railway. But a consideration of the needs of Tripoli will probably support the proposed railway from Tripoli to Lake Chad by way of Sokna, Marzuk, and Bilma.

Now it is that there arises for decision the acute question about the possession of the territory to the south of Tripoli and the Fezzan. Is it to be Ottoman, or is it to

be French? Which is to possess sovereign rights, and which is to be satisfied with a right of way, if both railways are built to the Sudan? In 1890 a feasible scheme for the delimitation of their respective spheres would have followed on an ethnographic division, and assigned the Tuarik territories to France, including Air, and the Tubu territories, including Kawar and Bilma, to Turkey. Although the Anglo-French Agreement concerns England and France only, it is now generally assumed that these Tubu territories, such as Kawar and Tu, or Tiberti, belong to the French sphere. On behalf of Ottoman sway in Central Africa, a passage may be cited from a report of the Consul-General for 1897. "No danger," he says, "attends the passage of caravans between Tripoli and the Fezzan, Ghadamis and Ghat, the prestige of the Ottoman Government, in the absence of any material forces, being sufficient for general security." This view gains support from a passage in the journal of Von Bary, where he records a report of August, 1877, that the Tubu of Bilma had petitioned the Sultan of Stambul to receive them under his protection and occupy their territory. If, then, the Sultan has at last taken possession of that oasis, he will have secured the main highway from Tripoli to the Sudan, and will have enabled the Tripolitan Trans-Saharan to tap the inexhaustible salines of Bilma.

This is a question which concerns other States besides France and Turkey. It is generally recognised that Italy has claims to Tripoli should that country at any time pass under the control of a European Power. And in the spring of last year Italy, on the occasion of the Anglo-French Agreement, received assurances that no enterprise of England or France against Tripoli is to be feared either in the present or in the future, and that nothing will be done to interfere with the trade routes between Tripoli and Central Africa. Now, the ivory that comes to Tripoli from the Sudan is derived from Adamawa. If it is deemed necessary to connect Algeria with the Central Sudan, it

may well be deemed as necessary to connect Tripoli and Adamawa. Hence the Tripolitan Trans-Saharan becomes an international highway of commerce, and if the British railway from Lagos to the Niger is prolonged to Kano and to Kuka, this Trans-Saharan scheme becomes a Trans-African railway. As it is the aim of England to develop the commerce of the Central Sudan by way of the Niger, this Trans-Saharan scheme concerns her less than Italy, Germany, and Austria, with their Mediterranean ports; but her commercial relations with Tripoli may well lead England to consider this scheme, and support it if deemed feasible.

Which, then, is most entitled to sympathy and support, France or Turkey, in their respective claims to the territory between Tripoli and Lake Chad? France may well look for sympathy in her admirable efforts to open up the Sudan and Central Africa to commerce and civilization, but her aim in the Shari basin is to draw the trade to the Congo, and her chief aim in Algeria is to connect the Western Sudan with her Mediterranean ports. In the same way Tripoli has for centuries had the commercial ascendancy in relation to the Central Sudan, and if this Trans-Saharan scheme from Tripoli to Lake Chad is deemed feasible, Turkey may well look for sympathy and support both in regard to it and in regard to the sovereign right over the country to the south of Tripoli and the Fezzan. Since the prosperity of Tripoli depends on the Sudan trade, no desire of France for the mere unification of her African possessions can justly be regarded as of sufficient importance to set aside the Ottoman rights of maintaining and developing the commercial relations of Tripoli and the Sudan.

In considering the rights of the Sultan in Central Africa, I have kept mainly in view the commercial and political aspects. It behoves me, however, to notice the relation which he holds to the Sudan as Caliph, and the duties which thus devolve on him. Then falls to be considered the highways of the African Hajj. I have said that the

Muslim pilgrims from Hausaland and Nigeria may now adopt the old highway through Wadai, Darfur, and Kordofan to Khartum. But it will be at once recognised that a Trans-Saharan railway through the vilayet of Tripoli will provide facilities for the Hajj of the Central Sudan, all the more if a railway in connection with it is built to Egypt.

A GLIMPSE AT THE GOLD COAST.

By Harold Bindloss.
Author of "In the Niger Country."*

The name of this British African colony is appropriate, for, though it has other products even more valuable, gold is found in varying quantities throughout it; also, while for many generations French, Portuguese, Dutch, and British in turn have traded there, our actual, which means commercial, hold upon the country is confined to the coast. In spite of traders' warnings, until recently the British Government contented itself with the unhealthy seaboard, while the French exploited the Moslem hinterland; but of late, both in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, this has been reversed. As agreed upon with France, the vague sphere of British influence stretches far north towards the Soudan, but for once commerce has not immediately followed or preceded the flag. Perhaps it was because the kingdom of Ashanti barred the way, for the Shanti were never cordial to white intruders. It must also be remembered that until recently the area of British dominion remained an uncertain quantity, and not long ago a leading official declared that he would not like to define what the Gold Coast Colony really did consist of.

It is, therefore, the seaboard which chiefly concerns us, and the writer would endeavour to give a rough impression of it. Rolling up past the cotton-wood forests and smoking beaches of the Cote d'Ivoire, where sickly French traders come off to purchase liquor and naked black men to deal in curios, the steamer drops her anchor off Axim, the first so-called port of any moment on the Gold Coast. It stands beside the Ankobra River, a cluster of white-washed factories nestling under luxuriant palms seen through a haze of spray, while a long succession of steep-

* Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

sided undulations break in tumultuous chaos along the trembling beach. One may generally see an anchored steamer there rolling heavily, while at the risk of life and limb great logs of splendid mahogany are hoisted in. There is a wealth of timber about the Ankobra, but trade is hampered by the great obstacle to Gold Coast commerce—the lack of harbours. There are also gold mines behind Axim in the region of Wassau, and the uninitiated wonder how the machinery for them was ever got ashore and transported through the Bush. Native-won alluvial gold was also sent there, and, as illustrating the perverted ingenuity of the African, the writer heard of a certain consignment which, on arrival in Great Britain, proved to consist mostly of brass filings. Now, brass filings are not a West African product, and must have been imported for the purpose. Still, the commercial future of Axim is threatened by the new railway from Sekondi, for one locomotive is better than many human carriers.

Passing east, the triple bluff of Cape Three Points rises, crowned with stately palms above eternal surf, with a loom of cotton-wood forests behind it, and blue heights rising against a sky that fades from the transparency of the zenith to a yellow haze of heat along the horizon. Then, as by Dixcove and Takorardi, one steams north-east to Sekondi; a panorama of towering bluff, palm forest, and curving bays, where mud-walled huts nestle between the dazzling beach and cotton-woods, unrolls itself. Close in-shore, Sekondi Cove is sheltered from the scourging of the surf, and an iron pier runs out into comparatively smooth water, by which goods can be landed direct from boats into railway-trucks. The line will tap the gold region at Tarkwa, forty miles, this autumn, and will no doubt eventually reach Kumasi, 181 miles from the coast. At present Sekondi consists of a dazzling crescent of golden sand, mud-walled huts thatched a foot thick, and a few white-washed buildings rising out of luxuriant foliage from the bluff which walls it in. Nevertheless, it will presently become a factor in Gold

Coast history, because the light railroad is, after all, the civilizer of Africa.

Then there are more flat-topped heights, thundering beaches, and dangerous reefs, until, passing the Prah River, the lovely Bay of Elmina, earliest settlement on the coast, opens up. It is fringed by tall palms, and ridged by the steep heave of the Atlantic, while to the eastwards the hill of Cape Coast looms up. A claim by King Koffe Kalkali, founded on legendary history, to the possession of Elmina was one of the causes of the first Ashanti War. Elmina, when the writer visited it, was chiefly famous for the export of indifferent rubber-gatherers to the Lagos colony, who, after ruthlessly laying waste Gold Coast forests, were seeking fresh fields for their energy. The negro is not a foreseeing person, and destroys the producer to secure the largest immediate yield, so that already large areas are devastated.

Rubber is obtained from several different trees, but in West Africa the landolphia parasitic vines are one of the chief sources of supply. Under no circumstances is its gathering a pleasant process, for the half-congealed sap is wound off round a negro's arm dipped in strong brine, and often afflicts him with loathsome skin diseases. Its smell is also best described as disgusting, and the present price for the West African, which is inferior to the Brazilian product, fluctuates at about two shillings a pound. Still, the men who gather it in British territory are generally equitably paid, for if our West African commerce is carried on at a heavy cost, it is at the expense of white men's lives, and not, as in the Congo, by the oppression of helpless natives.

It was bright moonlight when we anchored off Cape Coast, and the whole heave of the Atlantic seemed piling itself upon the beach. From seaward the long undulations ran smooth as oil, until, meeting the shoals, they broke, and a parallel phalanx of white-crested breakers, with wide valleys between them, raced towards the sand. Partly

hidden in steam of spray, the old Dutch castle rose up between the spouting of the seas, and we wondered how we were going to get ashore. By sunrise, however, the rush of breakers had grown less furious, and when a big surf-boat came off, swung out by a crane over the steamer's rail, we descended into her. Then fourteen naked Kroo-boys dipped the three-tongued paddles, and, with a sable Hercules sculling astern, we drove in-shore. It was an exhilarating sensation—a swift, sliding rush on the back of a comber, alternating with a sudden swoop into the hollow, until the ridges grew steeper. Then the helmsman howled, and, amid a storm of hisses, the paddles whirled madly, while the boat hung poised half her length in the air before, with a rush that took one's breath away, she sank into a valley of white-streaked water. At such times it was better to look at the back of the sea ahead than the hollow breast of the one which, hissing horribly, raced up astern. Finally, shooting past the castle and a slightly sheltering reef, we were flung out on the sand, safe but dripping. The surf is not always equally bad, but, as all cargo landed in the Gold Coast must cross it in a similar fashion, the most casual observer can understand how the absence of harbours impedes commerce.

Cape Coast, like other West African settlements, is a chaotic mixture of somewhat degenerate civilization and native crudity. Rickety huts straggle under scattered palms up the face of a bluff, and then one finds the usual combination of glaring white walls, iron roofs, some of them painted red, smells, dust, and cotton-clad native loungers. Its white traders are not a healthy class, and this is hardly to be wondered at. Work, for the sake of comparative coolness, commences soon after dawn, and continues, with an interlude at noon, when few white men can work at all, until dusk. If the temperature is trying under the open sky outside, it is almost worse in the partly darkened stores, where the stale air is heavy with the odours of superheated merchandise and the native customer. Each trader deals

in everything—palm-oil, skins and kernels, cotton goods, paints, ironware, and kerosene—and the result is a bouquet which is almost indescribable. The negro is usually crafty and always exuberant, while an African bargain is an interminable affair, so that the average day's work is a wearying one. Then, when darkness comes, there is no healthy amusement possible, and the tired agent can only play cards for stakes beyond his means in a stifling hotel, or lounge on the veranda risking fever at the touch of the land breeze.

Cape Coast is in the Fanti country, and the Fanti are, for negroes, an intelligent people. The phrase is used advisedly, because the inland races, with a mixed descent from Moor and Arab, are superior in many ways to the pure negro. Indeed, roughly speaking, the one partial civilization of Africa came from the east, and barbarism deepens through gradations as one approaches the west coast. Still, the Fanti, as well as their neighbours, the Accra, produce skilled carpenters, coopers, and gold-workers, while a few have taken a leading place in commerce and the learned professions. The whole question of negro advancement is full of surprises, for there are, perhaps, few races which learn more readily, while their weakness is rather instability of purpose than stupidity. Steady, continuous labour they cannot understand, and the construction of the Sekondi railway has been hindered by this difficulty, while there is but one seaboard tribe, the Liberian Kroomen, whose powers of endurance may be depended on. These sturdy, good-humoured savages are everywhere in demand, and have played a leading part in the development of West Africa.

The Fanti are fine in physique, some, especially the women, even handsome and curiously light in colour. Once, so they tell, they dwelt inland, and the more enterprising Shanti on the less fruitful coast, until the latter drove them out, and now, seeing the advantage of trade, desire to go back again. They attire themselves chiefly in

a "piece of cotton"—white, blue, red, or yellow; but instead of draping it over their shoulder, as those from the north do, fasten it with a twist-knot across the breast. The fine indigo-dyed country cloth from the Lagos hinterland, however, commands a higher price than any "blue-baft" made in Manchester.

Eastwards from Cape Coast, there is still the same succession of surf and bluff, tall palms and cotton-woods, until one reaches Accra, the capital. Accra stands on a low bluff above a long, straight beach, littered with surf-boats and Kroo cargo-men, while landing there is not always safe. There are the usual factories, heat, dust, and close-packed native dwellings, and the inevitable well-filled cemetery, but Accra bears the stamp of the metropolis, and its Customs regulations, as enforced by black clerks, are a terror to all comers. Generally speaking, the coloured official is a difficult person to deal with, and possesses a fine skill in the collection of small perquisites. Accra is the home of the native gold industry, which was known to Europeans centuries ago. Alluvial dust seems scattered throughout the colony, in the bed of the muddy rivers, yellow beaches, and even the streets of the towns, where, after torrential deluge or heavy surf, one may see the natives washing it. The percentage of metal is, however, small, though the total yield appears considerable. Accra craftsmen are famous for the production of artistic trinkets in virgin gold. The price used to be their weight in sovereigns, while how the native made a living did not appear. There are, however, trinkets which he will rarely sell: the mysterious aggri beads of a substance partly resembling amber dug out of the earth. No one knows how the aggri came there, and in spite of attempts to counterfeit them, they remain almost priceless.

Somewhere between the coast and the Kong reefs of surprising richness must lie hidden to account for the widespread alluvial; and when the light locomotive reaches Kumasi we may expect developments. The Shanti have long been

rumoured to possess hoards of the precious metal, but if they know the secret of the reefs, they have guarded it well. At least a score of commercial companies are engaged in prospecting and regular mining, and though some are more or less successful with stock at a premium, none appear to have made their shareholders' fortune. Others have failed miserably. At present they struggle against the enormous transport difficulty, all machinery passing inland in small pieces, on the carrier's head, which it is said costs one company £50 a ton. Neither do all the small pieces invariably get through.

One of the most striking sights in Accra is a detachment of the Houssa constabulary, muscular Mahommedans from the Nigerian hinterland in crimson fez and blue serge uniform. All our troops in West Africa, with the exception of the West Indians, who are either Methodists or obi-worshippers, are northern Moslem, for the seaboard peoples fall short in the matter of obedience, courage, and endurance. Hitherto there has never been a doubt of the Houssas' fighting qualities, and as their home once formed part of the Sokotan Sultanate, it is scarcely necessary to state that, in spite of their colour, they are not in the strict sense of the word negroes. Africa possesses an ancient history, and the Soudan has been invaded so many times from the north and east that they may spring from a combination of races, Phœnician, Roman, Moor, and Eastern Arab.

As seen from the sea, the Gold Coast is strikingly picturesque, but West African beauty partakes of the nature of the whited sepulchre. There can be no doubt that, though some Europeans actually thrive in it, the most part drag out sickly lives or die suddenly; for, besides the ever-present fevers, there is a bewildering list of other climatic ills. Of all our West African possessions, the Gold Coast seaboard should apparently be the most salubrious, but it has never proved itself so. In fact, proximity to the sea seems worse than an environment of steaming swamps. There are also many poisonous insect pests, red

and driver ants, centipedes, scorpions, venomous spiders, foot-eating jiggers, besides leeches and the loathsome Guinea worm. At sunset the land-breeze sets in hot and muggy, and dies before sunrise. Then there is generally a dead-still interlude, when the palm-fronds hang motionless, and the iron roofs crackle under the heat. Afterwards the slightly cooler sea-breeze drives a haze of spray ashore, so that the air is saturated with powdered brine, and every house reeks with moisture in spite of the temperature. Clothing cannot be kept free from mould, and most merchandise is packed in what does not prove to be impervious paper.

Beyond Accra the coast-line changes. The hills stretch back inland, and passing Pram-Pram, to which palm-oil barrels are rolled from the Volta country by hand at a cost which sometimes equals one pound the barrel, we reach the huge lagoons beside the Volta mouth. Unfortunately the river is shallow, and useless even for launches, except in the wet season, while the heavy surf and shifting bar preclude the construction of a harbour. Thus cargo coming down it is landed at Addah, and rolled across a wide strip of land for shipment through the breakers in open surf-boats. Next comes Jella Koffi, famous chiefly for its poultry, the toughest in the world, and leaving British territory, we pass on to the vast and partly unexplored lagoons of Dahomey.

The future of the Gold Coast colony is wrapped in more than usual uncertainty. That even without railroads its shipments of oil, kernels and timber will increase appears probable, while, with their extension, there would be a startling improvement. Rubber is doubtful. The trade has hitherto rapidly increased, but the supply cannot last for ever under present conditions. There is also always the possibility of surprising gold finds when the hinterland has been opened up, which may eclipse those of South Africa; but all this lies, as it were, in suspense waiting the advent of the locomotive. It is difficult to carry produce or machinery along

yielding bridges of cane, or wade under heavy burdens through endless swamps and fords, while the porter is subject to epidemics of sickness and mutiny. The Shanti nation may long remain a source of anxiety, for King Prempeh's tame submission was a surprise to many who knew his people. They are a warlike and enterprising race, while in case of a rising with one enthusiastic national purpose, it would be a very difficult matter to subdue them. No comments are made upon the present rebellion because before this article is published there will be lack of details.

This opens up the wide question of the white ruler's responsibility, and, whether high-handed measures did or did not offend the Shanti, it is apparently a fact that we deal in a somewhat arbitrary manner with the natives. Having seen them at work, the writer has the highest opinion of our West African officials; indeed, he owes his existence to the care of one of those lately shut up in Kumasi. There is, however, rather much colour distinction, and we do not seem to have the gift of making personal friends of the black men which some of the Gallic officers possess. On the other hand, when it is a matter of methodical, conscientious observance of instructions in the face of heat, pestilence, or deluge, our representatives appear to be unequalled, though perhaps we move too much like a machine with cast-iron regulations, whose purport the native cannot understand. Still, in spite of brilliant examples, the black man is apparently not yet fitted to take a leading part in his own government, though it would possibly be well if his opinions were more frequently listened to. In Liberia, and to a lesser degree in Free Town, Sierra Leone, one sees native government run to seed, until it occasionally degenerates into a burlesque upon civilization. It generally goes ill with the European haled on some petty charge before the court at Free Town, where, if the coloured loafer revile him, the wise man answers not again. It is also certainly probable that if our troops were withdrawn, the Shanti and their northern friends would soon stamp out

such civilization as has been established upon the Gold Coast.

The seaboard races are traders born; a few may become skilful mechanics, more commercial speculators, doctors, barristers, but they have not apparently either the virility or power of national organization to enable them to hold their own against savage foes. In this, at least, though they do not always recognise it, the presence of British military power is a bulwark and boon to them.

WAS 'ABDU-R-RAHĪM THE TRANSLATOR OF BĀBAR'S MEMOIRS INTO PERSIAN?

By H. Beveridge.

II.

Since writing my article on this subject in this Review for July, I have received from the Keeper of the Alwar Palace Library a copy of the colophon to the manuscript of the Memoirs. It has been made by a native copyist, one Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Delhi, and is more correct than my own. The two, however, agree in all important respects, such as the name of the writer, the date of writing, etc., and the only differences that need be noted are that the word in the first line, which I read as ترك, *turk*, should be تزك, *tuzak—i.e.*, institutes—and that the first word in the third line from the end should be بيد, *ba yad*, "by hand," and not *banda*, as I read it. The date, too, of the purchase of the manuscript by Rajah Bannī Singh is 1893 Samvat, and not 1853, and corresponds to 1836 A.D.

I have also received copies of the impressions on the seals. They agree with my copies, except that the date on Humāyūn's seal is now given as 912. This, however, is an impossible date, for Humāyūn was not born till 913, and I think that my reading, 942, must be correct. The impressions were smudged and difficult to read, and what I read as a 4 and the native copyist as a 1 might possibly be read as a 3 or a 6. The date on Akbar's two seals is 981, as given by me, and the words on them are *Allāh Akbar jal Jalāla*. A reference to Blochmann's translation of the Ain, p. 52, will show that Akbar used in the latter part of his reign a seal with such a device on it. The seal described there was quadrangular, whereas the seals on the Alwar manuscript are oval, or perhaps what Abul Fazl

calls *maḥrabī;* but I do not think that this throws any doubt on their genuineness. Should any reader of this paper wish to see the copy of the colophon, etc., I shall have much pleasure in sending it to him.

But there is one great difficulty about accepting the evidence of the Alwar manuscript, and this is the occurrence therein of what may be called the shaving passage. It is the passage inserted by Humāyūn in his father's Memoirs, and which describes how he shaved himself for the first time when he was eighteen years of age. I mentioned the passage in my former article, but I confess that I failed to see its significance or to draw an inference from it. The passage occurs in all the Persian manuscripts of the Memoirs, and is thus translated by Erskine (pp. 302, 303): "At this same station and this same day, the razor or scissors were first applied to Humāyūn's beard. As my honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muḥammad Humāyūn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting." The Persian of this passage, as it appears in B. M. MS., Add. 26,200, and in Shīrāzī's imprint, will be found on pp. 444 and 445 of my wife's article in the R. A. S. J. for July last. Clearly, if the commonly-received reading and translation of the passage be correct, it could not have been written before 959 (1551-52), when Humāyūn, who was born in 913, would be forty-six, and consequently the Alwar manuscript, which contains the passage as part of its text, cannot have been written in 937. The colophon, therefore, which gives 937 as the date of the completion of the copy, must have been taken from some older manuscript and tacked on to the Alwar manuscript, and the latter cannot be in the handwriting of 'Alī al Kātib, who died about 950. The occurrence of the passage is also inconsistent with Humāyūn's seal of 942;

and if that is spurious, doubt is also thrown on the evidence derived from Akbar's seal of 981.

There is, however, a possible explanation, and it is supported by the Shīrāzī's imprint, which is founded on a manuscript in Udarpur Rajputana. As remarked by Mrs. Beveridge in her article, the passage in the Shīrāzī's or Bombay edition is confused and defective; but as it stands the meaning of it seems to me to be that the age of forty-six years refers to Bābar, and not to Humāyūn: "On that date he" (Humāyūn) "was eighteen, I" (Bābar) "might be in my forty-sixth year." Humāyūn, as is well known, wrote the passage in his father's name. He did not intend it—at all events, not the first clause—to be a marginal note, but to be an integral part of the text. He wrote, therefore, of himself in the third person, and added a note to explain why he did so. May not, then, the last clause, where the first person is used, refer to Bābar? If so, the statement is not absolutely correct, for Bābar, who was born in the first month of 888, was at the time of the entry in his forty-fifth, and not in his forty-sixth, year. But it is conceivable that Humāyūn might make a mistake of a year in calculating his father's age. The phrase *būda bāsham** seems a curious mode of expressing the meaning "I am," and one would expect rather to find منم *manam*, or simply *bāsham*. *Būda bāsham* belongs to what Platts (p. 179) calls the future perfect, and what Lumsden (ii. 308) calls the doubtful preterite. However, I do not wish to lay stress on this point, for the Persian Memoirs are a translation from the Turkī, and the Persian, according to Erskine, is not always idiomatic. The tense in question occurs in other passages, and seems to be indifferently used for past and present tense. Thus, at p. 178, line 4, of the Bombay edition we have *būda bāshīm* used in the past tense. "When we came to Bhīra we were (*būda bāshīm*), at most, 1,500 or 2,000 strong." Again, at p. 202, line 3, we have

* Possibly he used the phrase "as a mark of doubtful predication" (Lumsden, *loc. cit.*).

the sentence, "Its acidity is (or may be) (*būda bāsh̲ad*) equal to that of the orange or lime." See also p. 204, line 9: "A nychthemeron is (*būda bāsh̲ad*) 3,600 *pals.*" There are some curious differences in the manuscript versions of the shaving passage, which lead one to suppose that the passage is corrupt. Perhaps it is a translation from Humāyūn's Turkī. Thus, the important word *alḥāl*, الحال, which undoubtedly indicates Humāyūn, is wanting in several manuscripts, and has the appearance of having been inserted by a copyist in order to make the meaning clear. It does not occur in the old and splendid MS. Or. 3714, No. 75, of Rieu's Supplement, nor in the Shīrāzī or Bombay edition, nor in the Alwar manuscript, if my copy be correct. On the other hand, it occurs in the old MSS. B. M., Add. 26,200, and 16,623. It will be observed that the Bombay edition has *Makh̲dūmī* instead of *Marḥūmī* as the epithet of Bābar, which might almost imply that Humāyūn wrote the note while his father was still alive. The form *Makh̲dūmī*, however, does not occur in any manuscript that I am acquainted with, though Erskine's translation, "honoured father," would seem to imply that he had read the word as *Makh̲dūmī*, but it is *Marḥūmī* in his Add. 26,200. There is one slight difference in the manuscripts near the beginning of the passage. Most read *ustura yā miqraz*, but the Bombay edition and one or two manuscripts have *ba* instead of *ya*, and this I believe to be the correct reading. The meaning is that Humāyūn applied both the razor and the scissors to his face. It does not appear that *miqraz* is ever used as a synonym for *ustura*. In Ilminsky's Turkī edition (p. 340), and in Pavet de Courteille's translation therefrom (II. 159), nothing is said about Humāyūn's being forty-six, and the date of writing is given as 961. The passage in Ilminsky is marked with asterisks, implying, apparently, that Kehr's manuscript was defective or doubtful.

I have applied to the authorities at Udaipur and Alwar for correct copies of the shaving passage. Should they not

confirm the Bombay reading, I think we must conclude that the Alwar manuscript was not written in 937, and that the colophon has been taken from some older manuscript. But even if this is so, the colophon is still interesting, and is a fact that has to be explained away if we accept the story of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's being the translator. Possibly the fact may be that 'Ali al Kātib made the Persian copy in 937, and that some unknown copyist afterwards transcribed his copy in the reign of Humāyūn or Akbar. It has been suggested to me that 'Ali al Kātib copied the Turkī, and that the colophon refers to this. But we do not know that 'Ali al Kātib knew Turkī, and as he was a Shia and a native of Mashhad, it does not appear likely that he did.

It is a curious fact that, according to the colophon to the B. M. Add. 26,200, which is the very copy used by Erskine for his translation, this copy appears to have been made in 987. I say "appears," because, though the word *ṣamānīn* is clear enough, it seems to be in a different handwriting from the *nuhsad ū haft*, and one does not see why the Arabic for 80 should follow the Persian for 900 and 7. Probably this is the reason why Dr. Rieu has not noticed the date in his account of the manuscript (Catalogue, i. 244*b*). But the latest decade after 900 and 7 is 90; and even if we suppose that *ṣamānīn* was originally *tasīun*, of which there is no indication whatever, the first two syllables of *ṣamānīn* being perfectly clear, the date would be 097, or one year before 'Abdu-r-raḥīm is said to have made the presentation copy of his translation to Akbar (see "Akbarnāma," Bib. Ind. ed., iii. 570). It is not likely that, if 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was the real translator, he would allow a copy to be made by an unknown person a year before he formally presented his translation to Akbar. Besides, if 'Abdu-r-raḥīm really was the translator, how comes it that we have no colophon or preface recording the fact?*

* The statements by Abul Faẓl about 'Abdu-r-raḥīm being the translator occur in the "Akbarnāma," i. 118, iii. 570, Bib. Ind. ed., and in Blochmann's "'Ain." p. 105.

As stated in my first paper, there is another note to the Memoirs which is ascribed to Humāyūn. This is given in Erskine (p. 329), and occurs in Bābar's description of the fruits of India. The note does not occur in any of the Persian manuscripts, and apparently in only one of the Turkī manuscripts, viz., that known as the Elphinstone manuscript. We have Erskine's statement, dated Christmas Day, 1848, to the effect that the manuscript is in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, and this is corroborated by a passage in a letter from Mountstuart Elphinstone to Erskine, dated September 23, 1816, and published in his life by Colebrooke, where Elphinstone says that the Advocates' Library would be a good place for the Turkī manuscripts. But unfortunately the manuscript is not now forthcoming. In Shaikh Zain's paraphrase the word *amrat* is written *amrūd*, *i.e.*, the guava, and which also appears under the form *amrūt*. I am therefore inclined to think that the fruit referred to by Bābar, and which is the subject of the note ascribed to Humāyūn, is the guava, more especially as the guava is not mentioned elsewhere by Bābar in his account of the Indian fruits.

In my first article I have spoken of 937 as being thirty years before 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was born. I should have said twenty-seven years, for he was born in 964. In the same article I appear to have underrated 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's acquirements as a Turkī scholar, for in Hawkins's "Voyages," edited for the Hakluyt Society by Markham, Hawkins tells us (p. 399) that he had a three hours' interview with the Khān Khānān, *i.e.*, 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, at Burhānpur, and "the language that we spoke was Turkish, which he spoke very well." But, of course, the ability to carry on a conversation with Hawkins, who presumably learnt his Turkish in the Levant, and the ability and inclination to translate Bābar's Memoirs, are two different things.

With regard to the note in Dr. Sprenger's catalogue of the Elliot manuscripts, noticed in my first article, I now think that what Dr. Sprenger is referring to is a note which

appears at the end of Shaikh Zain's translation of Bābar's account of the productions of India. He there says that he has taken down exactly what the Emperor said. This note appears in B. M. Or. 1999, in the middle of the volume, and perhaps it may be considered that the manuscript consists of two works—one, the description of the conquest of India, Fatūḥāt-i-Hind, and the other a partial translation of the Memoirs for the years following the conquest, and to be styled the Tārīkh or Tabaqāt Babarī.

It is known that there is another translation of Bābar's Memoirs, and that there are copies of it in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian. The authors of this translation were Mīrzā Payinda Ḥasan Ghaznavī and Muḥammad Qulī Ḥiṣārī. The first-named person translated about seven years of the Memoirs in 994, and then the translation was continued by Muḥammad Qulī. Evidently, however, he had a very imperfect Turkī manuscript to work from, for he states that only the events of seventeen years were translated, and that nineteen were left unwritten. Payinda made his translation for Bahrūz Khān, commonly known as Naurang Khān, and a son of the Quṭbuddīn, who was a brother of Shamsuddīn Atka, and was put to death by Muzaffar of Gūjrat in 1583 A.D. Muḥammad Qulī apparently continued the translation at the orders of the same Naurang Khān, but I think, though his preface is hard to understand, that he describes himself as a servant of Akbar as well as of Naurang.

NOTE.

It may, perhaps, be objected that the famous 'Alī al Kātib is generally styled Mīr 'Alī al Kātib. But I do not suppose that he would call himself Mīr; and, moreover, in a list of specimens of calligraphy exhibited in 1897 at the Eleventh Oriental Congress (B. M., 011899 *f* 2) mention is made of some by 'Alī al Kātib, and belonging apparently to the sixteenth century. Mr. Blochmann was of opinion that Mīr 'Alī died in 924 A.H., but this has been shown by Dr. Rieu to be a mistake. Blochmann apparently took his date from the Mīrāt Jahānnama, which says (B. M. MS. Or. 1998, p. 250*a*) that Mīr 'Alī was a native of Herāt, though [illegible]

Mashhad, and that he went to Transoxania in 920, and died there in 924 A.H. See Blochmann's note 6 to p. 102 of his 'Ain translation.

With reference to the Armenian Aghā Mīrzā, who copied the famous Alwar copy of the Gulistān, it is interesting to observe that he is mentioned in Saiyid Ahmad's book on Delhi, called the Aṣar-i-Sanādīd, among the calligraphers of Delhi. See p. 120, article Aghā Saḥib, where he is described as a pupil of Saiyid Muḥammad Amīr. At Alwar I was told that the Armenian was converted to Islam by a Delhi Muḥammadan known as Panjakash, or the Wrestler.



QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

By Prof. Dr. Edward Montet.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Amongst the works of a general class relating to Orientalism and Semitic studies we may point out that of W. von Zehender on the Congress of Religions at Chicago ("Die Weltreligionen auf dem Columbia-Congress von Chicago").* This is an interesting summary of the works introduced at this remarkable assembly. With respect to this publication, it would not be out of place to observe the general characteristic of the last years of the nineteenth century regarding religion and religious instruction: this result has been accomplished from studying and presenting Christianity in its relations with other religions—religions of the past and present. The most important endeavour in this sense was made at the Congress of Chicago in 1893. A similar endeavour, though different from the former, as it will be confined to the historical aspect, will be made this year at the Congress of the History of Religions at Paris.† It is not only on scientific grounds that Christianity is studied in its relations to other religions in learned assemblies, but it is also the same in the religious press. During last May the American Unitarian Association met at Boston, where not only were represented a considerable number of Churches belonging to the five parts of the globe, from Europe to Japan and the Indies, but also Churches of various dispositions and characters, including those of the Jewish communities. In short, in one of the principal English religious journals (*The Inquirer*) there appeared, during May and June of this year, some very interesting articles from the pen of Professor Carpenter on the religions of the Old World and those of mankind at the present time in their relations to the religion of Israel and the religion of Jesus.

The *doyen* of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Paris, Mr. A. Sabatier, has lately published an original study on "L'Apocalypse juive et la philosophie de l'histoire."‡ In it he upholds the genuine argument that the Apocalypses are essays on the philosophy of history. "With Constantine," the author writes, "the first period of the philosophy of history, the Apocalyptic period is closed; a second commences, the theological period. This opens with a *chef d'œuvre*, and closes with another. The first is the 'Cité de Dieu,' by St. Augustin; the second, the 'Discours sur l'histoire universelle,' by Bossuet."

We have to draw the attention of our readers to an important work

* Gotha, Perthes, 1900.

† We shall give an account of this Congress in the next number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

‡ Paris, Durlacher, 1900.

relating to one of the most important and attractive religions of the ancient Orient, and later of Imperial Rome: the religion of Mithras. Under the title of "Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra," vol. i., Introduction,* Mr. F. Cumont has written a true and critical history of Mithracism from its most remote origin in Persia up to its disappearance in the fourth century of the Christian era.

We may be allowed, by right of curiosity, to announce an interesting study by Harnack on the Irenical fragments, called the fragments of Pfaff.† Irene was not a Hebraist, and the etymologies which he gives of Hebrew names of the Old Testament are fanciful; but one will forgive this digression by the author of these Reports, who has of old studied Irene and his legend.‡ According to Harnack ("Die Pfaff'schen Irenaeus-Fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaff's nachgewiesen"),§ and the explanation which he gives is acute and concise, the self-styled fragments of Irene discovered by Pfaff in the Library of Turin are spurious. The chief argument given by Harnack is that the manuscripts from which these fragments have been extracted do not exist. This argument, as may be seen, is decisive.

The Old Testament—History of Israel.

Under the title of "Israel's Messianic Hope to the Time of Jesus,"|| Professor Goodspeed gives an interesting sketch of the religious development of the people of Israel. This essay is, at the same time, a judicious chrestomathy of the classical texts of the Old Testament.

We have to recommend a French translation of the Psalms, which possesses a genuine scientific value, and the existence of which we have only lately become aware of. This work is due to a Catholic priest, M. Flament,¶ who has adopted the metrical style of Bickell. It is a critical translation of the most advanced criticism.

Euringer has published an interesting study on the interpretation of the Song of Solomon in the Ethiopian Church.** On the testimony of Bruce, the celebrated traveller, at the end of the eighteenth century, it was believed that the Abyssinians considered the Song of Solomon as a work of Solomon, composed in praise of the daughter of Pharaoh; this evidence appeared to be confirmed by the opinion of Theodore of Mopsueste —Syrian influences having acted on the Ethiopian translators—in such a way that the Ethiopian Church had ignored or rejected the allegorical interpretation of the Song. Euringer shows that the Ethiopian version of the Song contains some traces of allegorical interpretation; that it may be

* Brussels, Lamertain, 1899. Vol. ii. includes the texts, inscriptions, etc., and appeared in 1896.

† *Vide* these fragments in the edition of the works of St. Irene by Stieren, vol. i., from p. 847 (Leipzig, Weigel, 1853).

‡ E. Montet, "La legende d'Irénée et l'introduction du Christianisme à Lyon," Geneva, Schuchardt, 1880.

§ "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur," N.F., V. 3, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1900.

|| New York, Macmillan and Co., 1900.

¶ "Les Psaumes traduits en français sur le texte hébreu," Paris, Blond, 1898.

** "Die Auffassung des Hohenliedes bei den Abessiniern," Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1900.

recognised also in the glosses of this translation and in several Ethiopian writings; and that, finally, it is the only exegesis of the Song which the Abyssinians of the present day are acquainted with.

In the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1900) Haupt has published a very interesting article on the Babylonian elements in the Levitic ritual. The following are the principal conclusions at which he arrives: (1) The indication of the Divine will from which an oracle is derived is termed *tertu*; this word is identical with the Ethiopic *temhêrt* (instruction), as well as with Hebrew תורה, while Aram אוריתא and Ethiopic *ôrît* correspond to the Assyrian byform of *tertu*, viz., *îrtu*. (2) The Hebrew term ברית (covenant) is identical with the Babylonian *birîtu*, which is derived from the same stem as *barû* (diviner). ברית seems to be a Babylonian loan-word, just as תורה and the original meaning of ברית may have been *oracle*. (3) The comparative study of the ante-Islamic religion of the Arabs undoubtedly throws much light on certain forms of ancient Israelitish worship; but if we wish to trace the origin of the later Jewish ceremonial of the Priestly Code, we must look for it in the cuneiform ritual texts of the Assyro-Babylonians.

The Talmud.

The fine and scientific edition of the Talmud of Babylon (text and translation) published by L. Goldschmidt has been enriched by a new fascicle, containing the first portion of the treatise "Pesahim."* A eulogium of this publication is unnecessary. The editors have inserted in this last fascicle an interesting notice which is not without piquancy. This notice relates to an edition of the Talmud of Babylon, with a French translation by Jean de Pavly, which we mentioned without any comments in our report for July, 1899. If the writers of this notice are to be believed, the edition of the Talmud of Pavly† is only a *utilization* of the edition of the Talmud of Jakob Scheftel, which appeared at Berditschew in 1895. Jean de Pavly had purchased a great many copies of the Talmudic text edited by Scheftel, and had added to each treatise an introduction and an epitome of the translation, forming in all not more than 214 pages of print; the paging in the Scheftel edition commencing anew with each treatise—this artifice—that is, if the facts are exact, was easily carried out. We are reluctant to believe that it is so, and for the honour of science we shall be pleased with a complete contradiction.

Assyriology.

The "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," published under the direction of Mr. Schrader, has been enriched with a new volume, "Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen," by Jensen.‡ This volume, of which we have but the first part, contains some celebrated texts (with translation and commentary): the account of the Creation and the descent to the Sheol of Istar, etc.

This work gives us the opportunity to go back to another volume of the

* Berlin, Calvary, 1900. † Orleans, Fourniquet, 1900.
‡ Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900.

same collection, one which contains the famous letters of Tell-el-Amarna (ed. Winckler, Berlin, 1896). In a lecture given at Paris at the Lutheran Conferences in May last, M. Philippe Berger, professor of the Collége de France and member of the Institute, has affirmed that the tablets of Tell-el-Amarna inform us that 150 years before Moses the Hebrews besieged Jerusalem. One feels the graveness of this assertion and the discredit which it throws upon Biblical documents. But as we have shown in a study that we have recently published on "les Israelites en Egypte,"* there is no occasion to speak, with respect to the sojourn of Israel on the banks of the Nile, of the documents of Tell-el-Amarna if the Habiri of these texts were Hebrews. But nothing is less certain than this identification, so that the capture of Jerusalem, to which fragment 185 (ed. Winckler) makes a vague allusion, remains enigmatical. At the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in 1899, discussion on this question showed how still more obscure it was. We have just learnt that Professor Kautzsch, one of the masters of the science of the Old Testament, refuses absolutely to recognise in the Habiri of the cuneiform inscription Hebrews or Israelites.

Arabic and Islam.

We have the pleasure to announce at the commencement of this paragraph the publication of the last part of the grammar of Sîbawaihi, edited by Jahn,† *denique tandem!* This important work is finally complete.

The fourth volume of the admirable bibliography of Arabic works, or works relating to the Arabs, by V. Chauvin, has appeared since our last report. This volume is devoted to the "Thousand and One Nights," first part.‡ A eulogium of this work is unnecessary. The very deep erudition and most trustworthy critical insight are its greatest characteristics. Nothing is more interesting than the contents of this new volume. After an introduction ("Essays and Researches upon the Collection of the Thousand and One Nights"), the author gives a very detailed and analytical bibliography of the texts (Habicht, manuscripts, Oriental editions) and translations. Galland's version, with its several editions and the numerous translations which have been made, occupy the place of honour in Chauvin's bibliography. Following the enumeration and the description of other translations (Burton, Habicht, Von Hammer, Lane, etc.) comes finally the examination of collections analogous to that of the "Thousand and One Nights" ("The Hundred Nights," "The Thousand and One Days," etc.). The volume ends with a series of tables (translations, editions of the text, manuscripts, analogous collections) most valuable to Arabists and all who desire to thoroughly study this inexhaustible subject.

We must besides mention an interesting article by V. Chauvin, which appeared in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*,§ on the sources of the

* *Le Progrès religieux*, Geneva (July 28, 1900).

† Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900 (2 vols. in 8vo). Vol. i., xviii, 385 and 321 pages; vol. ii., xvi, 903 and 552 pages.

‡ Liège, Vaillant-Carmanne, 1900.

§ Leipzig, Harrassowitz, July, 1900.

"Palmblätter" of Herder and Liebeskind. These celebrated tales were especially copied, with a few modifications, from Blanchet, Cardonne, Sauvigny, and some English essayists, who have copied the style of Oriental tales. Thus, one sees that this study is connected with the Arabic bibliography of Chauvin. The "Palmblätter" have been translated many times into French. On the subject of one of these translations, a Catholic author* has written the following appreciation, which deserves, for the sake of its oddness, being quoted: "This work is a collection of fables translated from the German of Herder, president of the Ecclesiastical Consistory. Although emanating from a corrupt source, Muhammadanism, and introduced by an inimical hand, that of a Protestant, this book may be placed without danger in the hands of Catholic youth." Charming, is it not? This paragraph is a real bijou.

On the occasion of the Exhibition of Paris, E. Doutté has published an excellent manual on Islam in general and the Islam of Algeria in particular.† Therein the author discusses, with the great competency which he has shown in his former publications, the dogmas, worship, law of Islam, the rites or schools, the Islamizing of minor Africa (the Khārijites), the worship of saints, mysticism and mystic associations, the religious brotherhoods of Algeria, religious ceremonies, superstitions, religious edifices, and official Islam of Algeria, etc. One of the most interesting chapters (in the Appendix) is devoted to Mussulman sciences in the Algerian *madrasas* and to Islam in the superior schools of Algiers. We cannot recommend too much this little work, which is very precise, clear, and well got up, for the initiation of the general public to a true knowledge of Islam.

The fifth volume of the French translation of the "Thousand and One Nights," by Mardrus,‡ has lately been published. We have already remarked the special character of this work, a character which shows itself, if possible, still more in this new volume; it is impossible to have in this regard but one opinion among men of science.

There remains to be pointed out in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (vol. xxii., part 4) an interesting article upon the Syrian desert ("Beiträge zur Kenntniss der syrischen Steppe").

Finally we mention a small work of some value by Procksch on blood-feuds amongst the Arabs before the time of Muhammad, and on the position taken up by the Prophet in regard to this ancient custom.§

* "La Bibliographie catholique," ii. 171.

† "L'Islam algérien en l'an 1900," Algiers, Giralt, 1900.

‡ Paris, editions of the *Revue Blanche*, 1900.

§ "Ueber die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr," Leipzig, Teubner. 1899.

A FEW REMARKS CONCERNING A NEW EDITION OF THE GÂTHAS.

By Professor Lawrence Mills, D.D., Oxford.

The moral claim of the Gâthas upon our attention and our sympathy is very peculiar. After such remarks as were made about the old edition of 1892-94* in the *Critical Review* of January, 1896 (which I have elsewhere recalled for an obvious purpose), it may be regarded as settled that these hymns occupy almost a unique place in the development of religiously philosophical ideas. The author of those sentences was indeed a Zendist, but it is evident from their tone that he preferred to speak for the moment as if from the outside, and as one of the deeply-interested lookers-on. And so understood, his opinions are of wider bearing, for he seems to speak for others.

Specialists upon this most severe of Aryan subjects may, then, enjoy one further solid satisfaction in feeling that they have been working on a lore the interest of which is acknowledged by intelligent people to be second to none in a religious sense. One deterrent element alone is present. It is this: The mass of its ostensible disciples is not numerically great, like the throngs who worship Buddha. If the Gâthic lore is "the most precious relic of Oriental religion" in the mind of a sober judge, the specialists who have mined in its depths have, at least, effected a certain practical result. But here comes in, as ever, a difficulty. The same writer who expresses so evidently his own strong personal conviction adds a remark which seems to modify what he had just let pass from his pen. He spoke of the "differences between Zendists" as to their renderings. If differences of such a character exist, may they not in so far mar the moral effect of the fragments that they cannot benefit the lay mind? If so, one very prominent object which I have in view in re-editing the verbatim and metrical translations from the larger book will be entirely frustrated.

I have been deeply touched by a note from a superior young Parsi in Hong Kong, who wrote (in passing) that during his "holy days" (the chief sacred seasons of his religion) he had been reading the metrical versions (from my book), much as we read our Bible. But if the differences between specialists are so great, may he not have received the "evangelical compunction" from sentences which would be differently rendered by other scholars? And if so, may not all the impressions which have been made upon him prove illusory? I have re-edited and annoted (*sic*) the verbatims† and metricals largely with a special intention to prove that such would not be the case. The differences in opinion which prevail among specialists

* The first edition appeared in 1894, and is exhausted, only leaving a very few copies reserved for private purposes.

† Verbatims this time in English.

need not have such an unhappy effect. It may be said of the Gâthas, as it may be said of all religious works of the kind (such as, for instance, the Psalms), that, differ as we may on matters important to linguistic critics, it is impossible to either destroy or seriously to modify their devotional effect as a whole.

Perhaps, and for reasons which I have already once explained in earlier numbers of this Review, what I have just said is more positively the case with regard to the Gâthas than with reference to any similar compositions of antiquity. The close linguistic questions as to etymology and syntax, and the philological questions as to definite points in the meaning, are more severe than in the case of other known works of their description; but there is an especial reason why the main drift (which is what we need for personal religious edification) not only is not obscure in them, but it also *cannot* possibly be *made* obscure, for reasons given elsewhere.*

The mass of the sentences consist of unmistakable terms which positively exclude all casts of meaning except those of one character—so much so that readers who prefer the poetic changes of the Ṛk or the Yashts accuse the Gâthas of monotony. A Parsi who wishes to refresh his personal religious life as to "thought, as to word, and as to deed," cannot avoid strong and searching sentences at every strophe, which, when turned into prayers for an edifying purpose, leave little to be desired. When a man prays for the "prizes of the bodily life and for that of mind," declares that he "knows the rewards of God for actions," prays for "all deeds done in accordance with the law," and pleads "O Asha (Angel of the Holy Truth), when shall I see thee?" it is difficult to suggest how he could express himself more searchingly; and when he anticipates the "Judge's Bridge" and the moment when the saints shall "unite in the good abode of heaven," he surely possesses a system for practical religious supplication which is as complete as any. The Gâthas, aside from the three texts of the Asiatic commentaries, are indeed not extensive; but do they lose anything by that (in their effect as formulas for religious devotion)? Do the Psalms always gain from their numbers, or the Ṛks from their "machine" additions? Beyond any reasonable doubt the Gâthas were once as numerous as the Psalms themselves, though never so many as the Ṛks. But my question now is as to their present use. And I most fully believe (deriving no small satisfaction from the conviction) that any fair presentation of the Gâthas among the Parsis will be of great spiritual benefit.

In the "Commentary on the Gâthas," pp. 394-622, as well as throughout in the Latin verbatims, I endeavour, as always, to give the various differing opinions of the ancients and moderns and continue this in the present book; but here I restrict my report more to differences which bear upon the devotional element, and, as I have said, it is surprising how few they are. My last versions have, of course, the advantage of being in English, and otherwise the only ones of their particular kind as yet in the field, and I devoutly hope they may have a practical religious effect until someone else may provide editions still more acceptable.

* See the former articles in this Review by the present writer.

Surely the fact that the Parsis do not number more than they do should not turn our interest into indifference. I for one am much moved to hear that they are all thinking of bringing their practical doctrinal standards more and more into line with the Gâthas rather than with the richly-coloured but pagan Yashts and other portions of the later Avesta. If it be true that this tendency exists among this deeply-interesting people, they will certainly be a community professing one of the purest forms of religion that has ever been developed from the soul of man.

BRITISH LAND POLICY IN INDIA (AS REGARDS LANDLORDS).

By B. H. Baden-Powell, M.A., C.I.E.

By the term "landlord" tenures we mean to separate that class of larger land-ownerships in which the estate extends (or previous to partition did extend) over many villages, and sometimes over several thousands of acres; and they are held by some "Zamindār" or Talukdār, once a chief, or a State lessee of the territory.*

It is the interesting fact that the whole of such tenures—in whatever part of India, and however much they are now impoverished—are all the product or result of a series of changes which are uniform in tendency, though locally various in their incidents according to circumstances.

The landlord tenures *as they now exist* are solely the creation of British law and administration. But the creation was brought about by determinate antecedent conditions and factors.

In the old customary and written law of India, such a being as a private freehold owner of land (in the English sense) did not exist. I mean that a "landlord" who can sell, mortgage, and bequeath his estate, or any part of it; who deals with his "tenants" solely on the basis of contract; who disposes of his land in building plots, market-garden allotments, or in tenant-farms at competitive rates and according to his own ideas of profit, has no place in the ancient Indian idea of land-holding.

We can discern, on the contrary, two distinct forms of interest in land, and the two could, and often did, coexist: (1) There was a direct, hereditary right of possession and cultivation based on the right by "occupation" and first-clearing, and making the holding fit for the plough.

* It goes without saying, that we do not speak about purely modern proprietorships of waste land, etc., depending on conveyance and grant and sale by modern law, and having no history behind them.

(2) There was the right of an "overlord," who might be (without intermediary) the Rājā himself, or might be some vassal chief, some grantee or later transferee; or, again, he might be any local chief settled by conquest or adventure by force of his own right hand, and not connected with any larger kingdom.* The overlord right consisted essentially in a right to *take a share in the produce of all cultivated land*—a share at first fixed by custom, and not liable to alter at will. It included various other well-understood privileges, such as the right to keep a certain portion of land as a special holding (*sīr*, *gharkhed*, etc.), the right to "improve" the waste, to take tolls and transit dues on merchandise, and often to have (unpaid) labour or service for so many days (*begār*).

This "overlord" right, in the course of time, was granted or assigned; was taken from a local chief, and claimed by a conqueror or suzerain, in which case its exercise was often retransferred to the old chief in a new capacity, or was farmed out.

How did such a direct possessor come to be regarded as a "tenant"—by no means always of a privileged class? and how did the overlord become an "actual proprietor" of the land? How did he come to grow and change, so that most provinces have had to recognise him as a "landlord"—not, indeed, with all the features of an English freeholder, but still with a kind of title not traceable in *old* law or custom?

The interest or practical value to the student of India, which such a question possesses, consists in the variety of answers which will be given in different places, according to their geographical, racial, and historic peculiarities; and that variety will nevertheless include a certain uniformity of result. In each different case some train of incidents happened, which developed and modified the overlord right,

* For politeness' sake, we will avoid adding, otherwise than in a note, that he might often be a captain of banditti, or a robber tribe on the frontier.

and reduced the position of the original cultivators, so as to turn the one into "landlord," the other into "tenant."

Here we will think of the landlord side: sometimes the process of growth was more or less obscure, sometimes it was rapid and, indeed, arbitrarily effected. The policy of Government (for example, that of Lord Cornwallis in 1793) had determined that a landlord (with certain legal duties and privileges) must be found for each group of lands; and then if there was no native magnate or chief, or contractor claiming a definite interest, the position of local landlord was *conferred* on almost anyone—a district officer of the native régime, a local head of a colonist group, etc. —who seemed to be capable of acting as landlord, and being responsible for the revenue.

But in many more cases the steps of the process are quite evident. Take an example (also from Bengal):* We find a certain territory known as an old native "rāj." The local chronicles have preserved a story of how, a thousand years ago, two noble parents made a pilgrimage from some distant home with an infant child. Misfortune overtook them, they perished, and the child was found in the forest by a Brahmin hermit and brought up. He became a noble Rājā, and was raised to the possession of the territory in question. Then fiction passes into real fact: the "rāj" (never of any great extent) and its Ruler are existent, and the genealogy of a long line of Rājās is preserved. About the fourteenth century (say) the Moslem Governor asserts his dominion, and the Rājā pays an occasional tribute, but remains in a somewhat doubtful position. But the Bengal Moslem kingdom was never secure from revolts, and the annals tell us how, one propitious day, the Rājā arose with his bowmen, and his long-maned horses, and his black elephants; how the earth trembled and the skies resounded. The Moslems are attacked, and the result is loss on both sides. After a time, however, peace is made, and the Rājā has accepted a "treaty" or a "grant" (as

* The reality of the story will at once be recognised.

either party respectively views it), and a regular tribute is agreed to. But then come the days of the more irresistible Mughal rule, and the Rājā has to make further submission. His political "rule" is at an end. His "title" is a matter of the Emperor's favour; he is left in possession. He still administers justice to his Hindu subjects; he still takes toll and transit dues. But the resources of his territory from a revenue point of view have been gauged by the Imperial officers, and he has to accept a regular appointment as "Zamindār," holding a "charge" on behalf of the Empire. Perhaps his dignity is flattered by the grant of titles and insignia; in any case, he accepts the inevitable, rather glad of the peace and security in which he now lives. He is obliged, no doubt, to attend (or his agents for him) pretty closely to land management; he must extend the tillage, locate new tenants, buy this plot and sell that, as he never would have done while a territorial ruler. But time passes, and (say) about 1780 a British Collector is now in power, and renews the "Zamindāri" warrant; and now the payment is frankly an assessed revenue, and the "rāj" is a landed estate liable to sale if default is made. Alas! such default soon occurs, and part of the territory is cut off, sold, and (as a separate Zamindāri) passes into other hands. At last comes the Permanent Settlement, and the Rājā is confirmed as the "actual proprietor" of what lands he has retained. The Government manages the police; it has taken over the administration of justice, it has abolished the transit dues and most of the tolls. The Rājā has become a "landlord," and his assessment is fixed in perpetuity; moreover, his relations with the "tenants" before long come into discussion, and are regulated by law.

I will not stop to point out that the Mughal conquest and the "Zamindāri" charge were the critical steps in the change.

Many similar pictures, but with much varied detail, could be drawn. The point for immediate notice is that in this

(Bengal) illustration the process of change has been absolute and complete.

But we are not only able to trace such processes by aid of local history in other parts, but to find cases where the *transition has only partly been accomplished;* or, on the other hand, where the necessary preliminaries, of one kind or another, have never been completed, and the would-be superior *has failed to command recognition as "landlord."*

I have long been engaged in collecting illustrations of these processes from various parts of India. During the year 1899 I was permitted to publish (in sections) in this Review, one of these essays on the development of landlord and analogous tenures; and I chose one that seemed particularly curious, and relating to an interesting corner of Western India. There were local chiefships, but all of them were more or less reduced, shaped, and altered under the successive rule of the Sultans, the Emperor, the Mahrāthas, and finally under the Bombay Government.*

But Gujarāt is a very peculiar country. Its geographical position at once attracted, and made possible, the invasion and settlement of a series of foreign dynasties and tribes. Its historical materials are (for an Indian country) singularly perfect. Inscriptions, copper-plate records, Jaina chronicles, the annals of the bards, besides the narratives of more than one Moslem historian, and many later reports and books,† enable us to trace a number of curious and often romantic particulars about the native "baronies" and chieftaincies—how they were managed and how they were treated.

* On this essay Mr. A. Rogers has commented in a paper published in this Review (April, 1900), pp. 391-394. Of course I did not include the *Khot* tenures of the South Konkan; they are not connected in any way with Gujarāt. Nor did I mention the Gujarāt coparcenary tenure known as *bhāgdāri* and *narwadāri*, because these are essentially *village* tenures, or of a class not included in my survey. They are fully described in my book on "The Indian Village Community."

† To which Mr. A. Rogers' "History of the Land Revenue in Bombay" (two volumes) is a valuable addition.

Now, one of the results of history is that the whole country (as far as it was occupied at all) is found to have been rapidly, in medieval and still later times, covered over by a network of chiefships or domains of one class or another.* These are easily called "Rājput"; but they are almost all of clans *quite unknown in any other part* of India.

And different races sometimes affected different parts. The Koli, for instance, seem always to have preferred the less accessible "jungly" tracts. We find Koli chiefs' estates in the north-east corner of Ahmadābād and in the south-east part of Kaira (to keep the popular spelling) along the Mahi River.

Another very important result is that neither the Sultans nor the Mughal Emperors (and their deputies) nor the Mahrāthas were ever able to thoroughly conquer, administer, and assimilate the whole country—right across, I mean, from (say) Kachh to Dohad and the Rewakantha. They conquered partially, fitfully, and no more. The consequence is interesting. Oudh, too, was (to a large extent) covered by a network of Rājput estates and Rājās' demesnes; but in time all were completely reduced by the Mughal Empire, whatever disturbances afterwards occurred in days of decline and weakness. And so all the Rājās, etc., uniformly became subject Talukdārs, and subsequently "landlords." All are on the same footing, with the same law and the same legal designation. In Gujarāt, the conquest being imperfect, the result was far otherwise. Moslem authority was concentrated on the rich plain country around Ahmadābād (the capital) and Kaira, and some other parts of the plain country, including the sea-board districts (Broach and Surat). In the regularly administered territory the "chiefs," of whatever kind, if they were not annihilated outright, were not only steadily subjected and reduced—all

* It will be enough to say in a note that there were sometimes rulerships of Rājās and Thākurs; sometimes vassal baronies; sometimes estates granted to cadets and others.

territorial rule and independence being taken away, and the chiefs made (of course hereditary) Talukdars; they were often deprived of a large part of their land, and left to enjoy only certain "wāntā," or fragments. But even in this tract the process was not quite uniform in effect. As we approach the more distant, hilly, and rough tracts of the province, we find the administrative "circulation" less active than nearer the heart. The estates there (as I have mentioned) held by Koli chiefs, and afterwards known as "Mewāsi," were left more alone,* and to this day have secured some "revenue" advantages in consequence.

But in the rest of the country another and distinct result followed. In Kāthiāwār, Pālanpur, Mahikāntha, etc., there are chiefships and baronies of *exactly the same description* (with whatever difference of race and family); but these did not become Talukdari or Mewāsi estates. They remained (what I have distinguished as) "political" estates. Partly reduced they were; they had to pay a tribute now and again, and, as events have shown, they lost an independent position, but still they could not be deemed to form part of a consolidated territory of a suzerain, such as could be assigned or ceded by treaty with him.† They have accordingly not become "British territory"—*i.e.*, they are not subject to the Collectors, the Civil Courts, and the Acts of the Legislature (as such). They are under a political control, which varies in degree from that general friendly supervision which the greater Protected or Feudatory States receive, down to a management under which the Political Officer is really the working authority in every detail.

* I think this effect was partly due to the energetic character of the race, but partly also to situation. I do not think the "Rājput" lords of the plains were subjected, because they were then degenerate. They offered repeated, and sometimes heroic, resistance; but they never could combine for long or effectively: and their absurd punctilio and jealousies and feuds facilitated a defeat, which in any case (against such a power as Akbar's) was inevitable. They suffered because they had neither the power to resist effectively nor the prudence to submit quietly.

† I have explained in some detail how far the "Sūba" under Akbar

Curiously enough, Mr. Rogers (in the paper before alluded to) asks why I have called these tenures "political"? If the answer is not obvious, I fear I have singularly failed to make the drift of my essay at all clear. The ("overlord") tenures which came fully under British rule, as the result of a long series of antecedent circumstances, I have called "landlord" tenures, for such they (legally) are; those which I have last spoken of above, remained under "political" control only, and I called them "political tenures" for distinction. Technically they are "Protected States," but so much unlike (in practice) what are usually so called, that they had to be noticed along with other "Rājput" estates and yet distinguished.

Thus, then, dealing with the whole area, which began by being practically uniformly covered with a series of Rājput and other States, baronies, and chiefships, we find them in modern days in *various stages* of more or less complete transformation.

1. They disappeared altogether, leaving the land *Khālsa* (or *talpat*), and the villages directly under Government.

2. Scattered holdings and fields alone remained, which have now mostly been classed as "alienated" lands under summary settlement.

3. Other more considerable vestiges of estates* survive as Tālukdāris (in Ahmadābād) or Udhaḍjamabandi lands (Kaira) with distinctly proprietary rights and privileges under modern law.

4. A certain number of estates called "Mewāsi" may be distinguished in the scale, not as in any way different legally or in principle from No. 3,† but as having (histori-

* It is not necessary for the present purpose to do more than note the effect of formal or virtual partition (owing to the custom of the chiefs themselves). It has had a terrible effect in impoverishing the Tālukdāris, so that many consist of no more than a single village, or even less. This, however, has nothing to do with the original character of the estates.

† By definition, in (Bo.) Act VI. of 1888, "Tālukdāri" includes all the other varieties for legal purposes. What is the "Nāik" mentioned in the Act? Is it a local title of Kasbātis? The gazetteers take no notice of the subject.

cally) secured some degree of independence, now represented by (what I may call) some revenue consideration or easier terms of assessment.

5. A number of estates, left intact as to extent (as far as any "wānta," or resumption proceedings are concerned), have not come into British territory, but are under political management. A few of them were important enough to be Feudatory States of the usual kind; but many more—notably the chieftaincies in Kāthīāwār—exhibit curious classes and degrees of subjection to supervision or management.

I doubt whether any other part of India could furnish examples of such a graduated scale, such various stages of development or decay.

But it will already have been observed that difference of *name* does not always mark difference in character of the tenure, or of such stages of alteration as I have alluded to; indeed, it is rather by a stretch, though an allowable one, that the "Mewāsi" estate is given a separate head or number. In reality, Talukdāri, Mewāsi, Udhaḍjamabandi, Wānta—though now (or formerly) shown in statistical returns as separate *tenures*—have no kind of tenure difference properly so called. The difference that does exist is solely due to the revenue arrangements made. It happened in the early days of British rule that the fertile district north of the Mahi River was divided into two parts, the eastern and western "Zillahs." Certain revenue orders were issued in one which did not apply to the other. Consequently the (Ahmadābād) Talukdars received a different treatment as to assessment, etc., from the (Kaira) Udhaḍjamabandi holders (whose old tribute payment was maintained unaltered). The difference in the case of the (Koli) Mewāsi estates has been alluded to; they were left without survey, and a moderate lump sum payment at a much less rate than the Talukdāris.* As regards No. 2,

* The details in each case would hardly be interesting. But Mr. Rogers calls in question my statement (p. 392), and then proceeds to

it is rather a pity that the historic term "wānta" has dropped out. As fragments of a once territorial estate, they were of course regarded as hereditary properties, and being held or claimed free of revenue, they have mostly become treated as "alienated" lands under summary settlement, and are now *sanadi salāmī* lands.

The differences of name which have thus arisen are (ultimately) the consequence of the different policy in land administration which marked the Bombay history. Had the Gujarāt tenures in question been in Bengal or the North-West Provinces, it may be taken as absolutely certain that no such distinction would have been officially made or preserved. That is not a matter of credit or blame, but of a difference which is not without its interest in Indian economic history.

When in any province a first stage of merely collecting the revenue demand in the old way, or by means of temporary farms, leases, or contracts, came to an end, a new stage was reached, which turned attention to rights in land, and the "title" to be recognised in favour of the person responsible for paying the land revenue.

Now, when British administration began in any presidency or province whatever, one thing was plain: the State was the virtual owner of all land in the directly administered or British districts. It had also the right of fixing the revenue demand from time to time at such rates as seemed to it advisable.

I will not stop to argue whether either right was an ancient right of sovereignty. Both unquestionably existed long before the eighteenth century, and the British Government had, on well-established principles, acquired them in succession to the preceding Government.

justify, not his correction, but my own statement; he shows that the difference *was* as I state. The mere fact that the "Mewāsi" estates had Koli, not Rājput, owners does not make a different tenure origin; otherwise we should have to make a different "tenure" according as the estate was held by Kāthis. Parmārs. Maleks. Thāreias. etc.

Regulations and Acts have repeatedly asserted, assumed, or implied this. The need for reform arose naturally first in BENGAL. Lord Cornwallis came out in 1786, and his first conclusion was that the State should not continue to own the land; he described it as "ruinous." In this province there were, in all the most important districts, persons who may be described as landlords *in posse*. These must be given a legal and secure position, and made answerable for the revenue to be assessed on each "estate." To constitute a number of "proprietary estates" —large or small as the case might be—and to find an owner for each who should "hold the settlement," was the essential object of the Permanent Settlement. A similar desire, however modified or disguised, is traceable in every form of revenue settlement which derives its parentage from Bengal. If such an owner (with equitable claims)—as, *e.g.*, the Bengal Zamindār—was not forthcoming, someone must be found. In the North-West Provinces it was largely a matter of *village* settlements,* but the principle was the same. At first they made various individual owners; then they discovered the facts about the "joint" village community and the tenure of its co-sharers, and they constituted the *jointly responsible* body, the (rather ideal) landlord. In the Central Provinces (where the villages were unquestionably *raiyatwāri* by nature) they erected an artificial proprietary title (over each) in favour of the "mālguzārs"—persons who had had the contract or revenue responsibility under the Mahrāthas. The question always was, Who is owner? There must be someone to be liable for the revenue, and for the duties of a landlord between the actual cultivator (or the individual co-sharer) and the State.

When a similar stage was reached—several years later—in Bombay and in Madras, no such dislike to the owner-

* Perhaps it is needless to say that by "village settlement" I mean where the single village, not any larger landlord aggregate of territory, is dealt with as a proprietary unit.

ship of the State was felt, or, at any rate, found expression.* How, then, did Bombay and Madras come to adopt the *raiyatwāri* tenure and consequent methods of revenue management?

In MADRAS the answer is somewhat curious. They certainly began with a vivid idea of the State ownership. It was even held *by some* that the raiyat was a year-to-year tenant, in virtue of his "patta" or revenue note, by permission of the Collector!

But Madras was forced by the Supreme Government (1799-1802) to adopt the Permanent Settlement pure and simple, and this provided landlords for certain parts of the country where there were local magnates who had been, or could be made, Zamindārs. They also tried elsewhere to make artificial landlord estates (*mootahs*) by allotting large parcels of land and selling the landlord right;† this almost invariably failed to work. But though the "raiyatwāri" constitution was the natural and ancient one—varied by certain cases in which colonists, grantees, and others had obtained a title over *villages*, held by them in shares, and called "mīrāsi" by the Moslems—there was the utmost reluctance to deal with the individual cultivator direct. They tried to see whether the "mirasi" right was general enough to be the basis of a system of village settlements; then whether "leases" for each village (as a unit) could not be managed. And it was only after MUNRO's strenuous efforts that the *raiyatwāri* system was at last established.‡

* Let me here explain that when I have spoken of the Government regarding the State ownership as a *locus standi* from which to declare or confer private rights, or any other status, I do not mean to say that any Governor proclaimed this in so many words. But the undoubted fact of the State's right did in itself afford such a *locus standi*, and the feeling that it was so is, I think, clearly traceable in not a few public minutes and preambles of Regulations, etc.

† This of course assumed, and acted on, the State ownership in the most pronounced fashion.

‡ To this day the exact position of the Madras *raiyat*, whether he is or is not an "occupant" (under Government regarded as "owner"), is one difficult to define. Logically, on the whole system, he is really in the same

Mr. Rogers tells us that in BOMBAY the adoption of the *raiyatwāri* tenure, etc., was "simply forced upon the Government by the state of chaos they found existing." But it should be pointed out that the "chaos" of village rights was not greater than it was in many other provinces; and in none of *them* was *raiyatwāri* accepted as the natural, or inevitable, or only, solution. If one feeling more than another *generally* prevailed, it was that dealing with "raiyats" individually was excessively difficult, and that almost anything else was preferable. Of course, in Bengal (and under systems derived from it) they would not have it at any price; and remembering the *joint* village system of North-West India, this was not wonderful. But in Madras, where the *raiyatwāri* was perfectly natural, it was, as we have seen, long avoided; and in Bombay there certainly was considerable discussion before it was adopted; and by that time all Munro's powerful minutes on the subject must have been before the Government advisers.

The modern *raiyatwāri* tenure is, however, based on the *retention* by the State of a general or ultimate ownership of the soil. The power of relinquishment of a holding was a most useful safeguard (in early days) against overassessment, and is an essential feature of the system; it is retained still, under the rules both of Bombay and Madras. But such a power involves the position that the holder is not exactly owner, but rather a sort of hereditary usufructuary, while the "property" resides (as before) in the State. The term "alienated" land, again, which is used in Bombay as

position as in Bombay. But in a note prefixed (officially) to the collection of "Rules for the Lease of Waste Lands," the Government say that the "foundation of the raiyat's title" is in the Regulations of 1802, and "especially in Sec. 4 of Reg. II. of 1806 and Sec. 12 of Reg. XXX. of 1802." Both of these Regulations are, however, repealed; only the repeal does not affect rights already established. The curious phenomenon is thus presented that millions of land-holders (outside the Zamindāri estates) have their title (whatever it is) depending on certain provisions which cannot ordinarily be referred to, since, being "repealed," all trace of them has disappeared from the current Statute Book!

meaning land granted free of the State demand for revenue, is also appropriate only to a state of things under which the State retains, normally or in general, the ownership. It is not used under the Bengal or derivative systems, where it would have little meaning, because there all land as a rule *is* "alienated"; it has been acknowledged as private property by law; Government only retains ownership in a few (exceptional) cases.

It is quite likely that, in early days, the true relation of the *raiyatwāri* tenure to the ancient village system was not always, or at all, perceived. The reason why it has, under proper conditions of revenue survey, valuation and assessment, proved successful, is the reason which *invariably* has shown whether *any* system is right or wrong—viz., its conformity in principle to the real native idea of land-holding in the locality.

Try to sell by auction an *artificial* landlord right over an artificial parcel of land; try (for supposed convenience of revenue management) to create artificially a body of cultivators as jointly liable (in permanence) for a lump sum of revenue; in nine cases out of ten, where such experiments have been made, they failed miserably. They were not natural to the people, and did not suit their notions of things.

The separate allotment of land, the liability to a regulated share of the produce (now a money rate instead) without any joint responsibility, the customary obedience to a headman, who is *not* a farmer of the total revenue—this, with other minor features of association, is the essence of the old village form before it was (in various parts) dominated by any co-sharing family of superiors, or any group of securities for revenue, or other managers. The modern *raiyatwāri* tenure is merely the old ideal, reduced to terms of law, and supported by the modern rules of demarcation, survey, modes of valuing the revenue payment, forms of record, and the like.

In Bombay, thanks to a clear and comprehensive Revenue Code, there is no doubt that the *raiyat* has a

certain title, and that the State remains *owner* of all land, except where by law (*e.g.*, the Talukdars Act of 1888) the right of ownership is declared to reside in some person or aggregate of persons; or where the land is "alienated," etc.

No *raiyat* (on the survey tenure, as it is called) in Gujarāt, or in any part of Bombay, can (*pace* Mr. Rogers) sell or mortgage his land, for the simple reason that he has no land to sell. *His* "property" consists in a permanent occupancy right under certain conditions; and *this* is alienable and heritable. For practical purposes, of course, such a title is perfectly satisfactory;* but legally and historically it is not the same as his being the owner of land, the State title being abrogated. Nor was it from any love of technical refinement that the framers of the Code kept the distinction: it arose out of the antecedent history of the land.

In Bengal and its related provinces, the State ownership was denounced in principle, and haste was made to get rid of it; at the same time the middleman proprietor—in whatever form, and sometimes (as Mark Pattison would have said) "defecated to a pure transparency"—was welcomed. In Bombay no such objection was felt; no reason against the State ownership appeared, while as for the "middleman," the thought of him justly made the Bombay administrator shudder. Thus it came about that as historically and racially and geographically Hindustan (or Upper India)

* Mr. Rogers (p. 393) charges me with having "tried to make out" that the State is owner of the land. I have not tried to make out anything, but have stated what is the plain legal and historical truth of the case. The scattered provisions of the Bombay Regulations of 1827, and the Act of 1865, etc., are now consolidated and revised in the Code (Bombay Act V. of 1879, as amended). Section 37 declares, "All public roads, etc., the bed of the sea, etc., of rivers and lakes, etc., and ALL LANDS WHEREVER SITUATED, which are not the property of individuals (or of aggregates, etc.), and except as provided in any law, etc., ARE, AND ARE HEREBY DECLARED TO BE, THE PROPERTY OF GOVERNMENT," etc. Talukdārs and ināmdārs are by law vested with an *ownership*, but the student will look in vain for any law establishing that the raiyat is "owner." Sections 65 *ff.* describe his right or interest, and Section 73 explains what interest he can alienate.

has been always more or less separated from India below the Vindhyas, so in the development of land policy the distinction appeared also. South of the Narbada (if we exclude the peculiar case of the Central Provinces) the Government will never deal (if it can help it) with a middleman; north of the same valley it will never deal with anyone else.

If the remainder of my studies ever reach the stage of publication (which is not an easy thing in England for such subjects), I shall have the pleasure of submitting an account, on historical principles, of the growth (or the lack of growth, it may be) of the tenures of the *Khot* of Ratnagiri, the *Zamindar* and *Jagirdar* of Sindh, the *Zamindar* of Bengal, the *Talukdar* of Oudh, and the curious *Janmi* and *Wargdār*, proprietors of the lower West Coast (Kañara and Malabar). A general introduction will present the leading features of the landlord history in general, including primogeniture and the ancient rights of sovereignty.

THE CATHAYANS.

By E. H. Parker.

In the winters of 1869, 1870, and 1871 I made three journeys on horseback outside the Great Wall, covering 2,000 miles in all, reaching the sources of the Shira Muren and Shangtu Gol Rivers, and passing repeatedly through four of the ancient defiles which from ancient times have formed a natural barrier between China and the Tartars. At that time I had never heard of the Cathayans or Kitans; but now, having read their history, I recognise, from the descriptions given 700 years ago, some of the old familiar scenes, and much that is still common to the Mongol nomad life in those parts.

All the so-called Turkish races, before the invention of the name "Turk" in A.D. 500, were or could be pretty well grouped together by the Chinese in one great national category called "Hiung-nu," corresponding in its vagueness and perhaps in its etymology to the western word "Huns"; but the races east of the Turks, though roughly classed together by the Chinese as the "Tung-hu," or "Eastern Tartars," never had any common national term by which they could be ethnographically contrasted as a whole with the Hiung-nu. Moreover, the easternmost half of the Tung-hu, inhabiting the valleys of the Amur and Sungari (and their tributaries), were all essentially hunters, fishers, and keepers of swine; whilst the westernmost half, wedged in between the former and the Turks, and inhabiting the valleys of the Shira Muren and Shangtu Gol (with their tributaries), shared some of the nomad characteristics of the Turks, and seem to have been in many other respects a cross between the pure horse-riding nomads and the pure pig-keeping hunters. To add to the confusion, European authors, whilst borrowing the Chinese word "Tung-hu," and transforming it into "Tunguz," have only

applied it to the easternmost of the said two halves. Thus, whilst we may speak of all the Hiung-nu as "Turks," and of half the Tung-hu as "Manchus" in a wide and loose sense, there is no European word except "Kitan" by which we can designate in a similar makeshift way the intermediate "Mongol" or mongrel groups. It is quite as permissible to thus anachronically use the word "Kitan," which was only invented in the fourth century, as it is to retrospectively use the word "Turk," which was only invented in the fifth century. In each instance it is (as in our own case of "Angles") a petty tribe that gradually by superior energy comes to the top, attracts and assimilates less-favoured cognate tribes, and gives its name to the whole. Thus we may divide the two main language-divisions of Northern Asia into Turk-Ouigour (the Chinese Hiung-nu), and Cathayan-Manchu (the Chinese Tung-hu). In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* I treated of one part of the Tung-hu, the Nüchêns or Manchus; and now I am about to treat of the other part—the Cathayans—in the same way.

I make a clean sweep of all their history between B.C. 200 and A.D. 900. During all that period they were never lost sight of by the Chinese, and always occupied sites somewhere within the same limited area already described. For 200 years one clan, known as the "Toba," even ruled with credit as Emperors of North China, whilst purely Chinese dynasties ruled on terms of friendly equality at Honan or Nanking in the south, just as in later times the Cathayans, Nüchêns, and Mongols ruled each in turn as Emperors of North China, whilst purely Chinese dynasties ruled at K'aifung Fu or Hangchow in the south. During all these 1,100 years the names of their chiefs, and the vicissitudes of the race, are pretty well recorded; but all this has no place here. My specific purpose is to describe the Cathayans from the time when they developed into a great political power.

Originally the Cathayan system was elective. Every

three years one of the eight tribal chieftains was chosen to be *khagan;* but when, in 906, Hendeken Khan was succeeded by Apaoki of the Tiela tribe, this ambitious soldier declined to recognise the elective system any longer, got rid of his opponents by a bold *coup d'état*, and announced that in future *l'état, c'est moi!* Apaoki's name was first written Anpakien, so we may presume the real sound intended lies somewhere between the two. As to the khanly title of *khagan,* it was used by the masters of both Turks and Cathayans (the Jwan-jwan) before either of those peoples adopted it in that dissyllabic form; but there is good reason to believe that an earlier monosyllabic form *khan* had been in local use for many centuries before it was known in Persia. During his twenty years' reign Apaoki conquered the whole of the Manchus up to the borders of Corea, and all of the other Tunguses up to the Amur and Shilka; also all the nomad Turkish tribes between the northern Yellow River bend and the Orkhon, and all the Tibetan tribes up to the powerful state of Hia (Marco Polo's Tangut). In 916 he declared himself Emperor of Great Cathay, and his official reign as a North Chinese monarch dates from that year.

At this time the great Chinese dynasty of T'ang (the only one which had reigned over the whole of China for any lengthy period since A.D. 200) was tottering to its fall after 300 years of existence. Five ambitious generals (three of them sinicized Turks) took the opportunity, one after the other, of setting up dynasties of their own in Central China. These ephemeral houses, taken together, only covered about fifty years (907-960), a period of confusion known to Chinese history as the "Five Dynasties." South and West China, comprising nearly all the regions south of the Great River and west of the gorges, was governed by ten petty dynasties ruling at Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, etc., and all more or less independent of the central or "legitimate" power in possession of the State archives; but in any case having nothing whatever to

do with the Cathayans, who thus found opportunities for making extensive raids into China in order to transfer to their own inhospitable steppes enormous numbers of civilizing artisans and cultivators. Apaoki's capital was at a place marked on the Russian maps as Tsagan-Soborga ("White Pagoda"), situated on the Tsagan Muren ("White River"), a small tributary of the Shira Muren. Its exact site is Lat. 44° 10′ N. and Long. 118° E. Up to the time of his death in 926, though he had conquered and lost modern Peking, he had not gained much permanent foothold south of the Great Wall.

Apaoki was succeeded by his second son, Yaokutch, better known by his Chinese name of Têh-kwang. This arrangement was made by his mother, whose influence over the chiefs thus secured the succession of her favourite son, to the exclusion of the eldest, made instead Viceroy of the newly-conquered Manchuria. Four years afterwards the discontented Prince-Viceroy escaped to China, where he was hospitably received at the Court of the second of the Five Dynasties, then represented by an able old Turk named Maokile (Li Sz-yuan). But Maokile's son and successor was imprudent enough not only to intrigue with the escaped Viceroy in order to get him back on to his rightful throne, but also to suspect and quarrel with his own chief general, who was faithfully guarding the frontier against Cathayan attacks. This led to the general in question (also a Turk) allying himself in self-defence with the Cathayan monarch, with the result that the Emperor and his protégé, the Viceroy of Manchuria, committed suicide, and a new Central Chinese dynasty was established under Cathayan protection (936). The new Central Emperor was the son of one Neliki, but is himself only known to history by his Chinese name of Shih King-t'ang. In return for Cathayan assistance, he ceded to them sixteen Chinese prefectures, or practically the modern Tientsin and all west of it, including Peking and Pao-ting Fu, up to the famous Goose Gate (Yen Mên) in the Great Wall, and all

that part of modern Shan Si north of the Goose Gate. The historical city, almost on the exact site of modern Peking, was now made the Cathayan "south capital." In addition to this, an annual subsidy of 300,000 taels of silver had to be paid, and the Cathayan Emperor required to be officially recognised as the superior and the patron of the Chinese Emperor. Notwithstanding these humiliating terms, the Turk remained loyal and faithful to his pact; he even died of chagrin when political complications caused the Cathayan Emperor to demand of him certain peremptory explanations. His nephew and successor presumed to claim that he ruled Central China of right, and not by the favour of Cathay. This bold attitude brought the Cathayans down in force across the Yellow River, and five years of bloody war followed, accompanied by fearful famines, massacres, and popular suffering. At last the Cathayans were victorious, the Central Chinese capital (K'ai-fung Fu) was occupied, and the imperial family were carried into ignominious captivity. Nothing is more pitiful than the story of the bedraggled journey through the Shan-hai Kwan to Kin Chou, where the wretched monarch was forced to kneel before imperial Cathayan effigies, and whence he was rudely summoned to be triumphantly "inspected" by the old Dowager; after which, insulted, flouted, and coarsely deprived of his prettiest concubines and daughters, he was given spacious quarters on the head-waters of the Taling River (Lat. 41° 30′, Long. 119° 30′). He lived there for eighteen years, until his death took place about 955.

But the effects of the Chinese climate were equally fatal to the Cathayan conqueror, who, after a haughty triumph at the capital, and a cruel ravaging of the surrounding country, hurried off home to die, carrying with him the archives, regalia, astronomical instruments, and all other important public property he could lay hands on. Death overtook him at Lwan-ch'êng (Lat. 38°, Long. 115°). His carcase was disembowelled and salted, and he was hurriedly

carted off in full view of the irreverent Chinese as a mere *ti-pa*, or "jerked Emperor," to his native steppes.

A civil war of succession now broke out between his mother, the Dowager, who wished Yaokutch's son to succeed, and Uyuk, son of the late Viceroy of Manchuria. The latter's cause was also opposed by his uncle, Li Hu, another claimant. It ended in the defeat and imprisonment of the grandmother, and Uyuk succeeded in 947, changing the dynastic name to "Great Liao." Like most Tartars, he was of a convivial turn of mind, but he was also a man of some artistic taste. Meanwhile, advantage was taken of these civil dissensions by another Turkish general to found on the ruins of the Central power just destroyed the next Central dynasty of Han, independent of Cathay.

Uyuk was murdered at the early age of thirty-four, and was succeeded in 951 by Yaokutch's son Shuhlüh, or Jurut, who, strange to say, bore exactly the same name as his grandmother. The Cathayans were on terms of perfect reciprocity with the last of the five dynasties, and were even forced to yield up part of the territory ceded to them by Shih King-t'ang. Shuhlüh was physically impotent, a steady drinker, a great hunter, and a man of ungovernable violence; he also was murdered at the moderate age of thirty-nine. Meanwhile, the great Chinese Sung dynasty, which lasted from 960 until Marco Polo's time, had succeeded in reuniting all but the extreme north fraction of China under one sceptre, and was able to offer a firm front to the Cathayans.

The next Emperor, Mingi, son of Uyuk, succeeded in 969, and most of his reign was taken up in arranging matters in dispute with China, neither side obtaining much permanent advantage. Like most of the careless Cathayan monarchs, he died young, at the age of thirty-five, and was succeeded by his eldest son Wênshumu, a boy of twelve. Wênshumu's mother acted as Regent, but she created great scandal by her open liaison with a Chinaman with whom she had become infatuated, and who had chief command of the

Cathayan troops. It appears that Cathayan women enjoyed considerable independence, for they are mentioned as local and provincial governors, and they certainly possessed great state influence at Court. In fact, it is specifically stated that they had a say in all matters but those concerning war. Corea is mentioned in 994 for the first time since her nominal submission in 918, and from this date down to the destruction of the Cathayan Empire by the Nüchêns she sends regular tribute. In 995 ten or twenty Corean youths were sent to study the language. The only countries on anything approaching reciprocity terms with Cathay were now Corea, China, and Tangut, and all four States seem to have been most punctilious in the exchange of regular formal missions, whether nominally vassal or suzerain. In 1010 there were serious hostilities with Corea, and the Nüchêns assisted the Cathayans with remounts. Fighting went on for some years, and general politics now transfer themselves from the Chinese frontiers to those of Corea and Manchuria. In 1021 a wife was granted to the son of the Tazi ruler, which either means the Caliph Kadir-billah of Bagdad, or some of the Buyids of Transoxiana, under whose tutelage the Caliphs then were. Already in 924 a mission had come to Apaoki from the Tazi ruler; at that date the ruling Caliph was Moktadir, grandfather of Kadir-billah. There seems nothing improbable in all this, for Persia had also sent a mission in 923, and in 924 Apaoki had visited the old Ouigour ruins of Kara-balgassun (near Urga), and had sent a flying force "across the desert to take the city of Buddha (Fou-t'u) and annex the western limits." With these exceptions, however, and missions from Khoten in 990 and the Kirghiz in 931, 950, 976, the Cathayans had no sustained relations with anyone west of the various Ouigours and Tibetans who were dotted about north and south of Kokonor. I have no idea what is meant by the "city of Buddha."

Wênshumu (better known as Lung-sü) is considered to have been the best of all the Cathayan Emperors. He

died in 1031, at the age of sixty-one, and was succeeded by his eldest son Tsung-chên, whose native name is variously written Chiku, Ipukin, and Mupuku, so that it must have been as hard for the uninitiated to pronounce as "Cetewayo." He was a rollicking drunken fellow, who was disposed to leave many things to his mother, and was easily outwitted by the astute Chinese envoys. Still, Cathay maintained during his reign considerable influence over both China and Tangut, assuming to settle their quarrels for them by a kind of paternal arbitration. Mupuku's chief defect in the eyes of the historian is that in his choice of an adviser he "preferred his natural mother to his legitimate mother." It seems that the rough Tartar grew irritated when it was dinned into his ears by the intellectuals that "according to the rites" his legal mother—*i.e.*, his father's first wife—was his true mother; he therefore promptly solved the maternal difficulty by "going for" her and murdering her. He died, at the age of forty, in 1055.

The next Emperor was Chala, eldest son of the last. He dabbled somewhat in literature, and even issued editions of the early Chinese histories, but it is not stated in what language. He also interested himself in Buddhism and sacerdotal legislation, in consequence of which the historians ridicule his memory and call him a "religious fool." Like nearly all the Cathayan Emperors, he was an ardent sportsman; hunting, fishing, and hawking taking up a good deal of his time. Of him alone it is stated that he sailed down the Amur in a boat. He had a million horses in his corrals, which fact explains the wonderful mobility of the Cathayan armies. During his reign influence over China and Tangut was maintained, and Corea sent regular tribute. It seems that at this time part of the land on the east of the Yalu River belonged to the Cathayans, *i.e.*, to the Nüchêns, who were their vassals. Squabbles about the banks of the Yalu were like European squabbles about the banks of the Rhine. Chala lived to a hoary old age

for those violent times, and died at seventy in the year 1101.

The last Cathayan Emperor was Akwo (more commonly known as Yen-hi), grandson of Chala. The "Raw Nüchêns" are now first mentioned as a real political force which has to be counted with, and the first serious tussle with them took place in 1112-13. The rest of Akwo's reign is simply the story of the Nüchên conquest, as already shortly told in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April last. After the loss of Peking, the fugitive Cathayan Emperor was for a time encouraged by and supported by a remarkable man who occupies a very prominent place in high Asiatic history; this was Yelüh Tashih, a relative ("Yelüh" being the royal clan-name), often also known as Tashih Linya, which means "the Doctor Ta-shih," in allusion to the literary office he had held. At last, disgusted with the Emperor's vacillation and pusillanimity, Tashih, dreading also for his own safety, abandoned the cowardly Akwo to his fate at T'ien-têh (Marco Polo's Tenduc), and galloping off northwards with a few hundred trusty followers, sped across the Blackwater to the land of the "White Tata": these are supposed by Russian authorities to be the same as the Yung-ku (Marco Polo's Ung, Rashid's Ongut); these, again, are the descendants of that tribe of Shat'o or "Desert" Turks who, as we have seen, gave three dynasties (After-T'ang, After-Tsin, After-Han) to Central China two hundred years earlier. The reinforcements in horses and cattle supplied by these White Tartars enabled the Cathayan chief to make a respectable appearance amongst the eighteen nomad tribes in occupation of the desert oases, all of which had been in more halcyon days tributary to the Cathayans. With a fully-equipped force of 10,000 men he now proceeded to the Ouigour khanate of Kan Chou (Marco Polo's Campichu), and reminded the Khan Bilga how in 924, when Apaoki visited Kara-balgassun, his ancestor seven degrees back had offered the then Khan Umchu to allow the Ouigours of Kan Chou to

resettle in the Orkhon region if they so desired. The generous Ouigours, who for two hundred years since that event had been faithful vassals of the Cathayans, readily responded with further reinforcements, and the result was that Tashih (anticipating Genghiz Khan) was able to go on gathering warlike tribes like a rolling ball of snow as he advanced westwards to Samarcand, which place he ultimately conquered. It is now that *hwei-hwei*, the Chinese term for "Mussulman," first occurs in Chinese history, when the "King of the Mussulmans" came to offer his submission. As this term is clearly used in Mongol history to signify the state of Khwarezm, and also to indicate people living on the "Amu" River (the Oxus), it was plainly intended in the first instance for the populations and the empire of Transoxiana, near and around the Aral Sea; and that, the last certain and genuine Caliph Mostazhir having died in 1121, the Transoxiana princes were regarded by the Chinese as the leaders or representatives of the Faith. Many European writers confuse the name with that of *Hwei-hêh*, or "Ouigours"; but the Chinese never do so. We need not here follow this branch of the emigrant Cathayans—known as the Karakitai, or "Black Cathayans"—any further. The dynasty was maintained alongside of the Khwarezm empire in the Aral region, until it was destroyed by the Naimans, directly after which all three, Naimans, Cathayans, and Khwarezm, were swallowed up by Genghiz Khan. The interesting point to notice is that the Hiung-nu had made straight for Soyd and Samarcand when broken up by China at the beginning of our era; the Cathayans did exactly the same a millennium later when broken up by the Nüchêns; and the conquests of Genghiz Khan, who had first broken up the Nüchêns, were simply carried along the old beaten lines. He did not advance nearly so far into Europe as Attila had done.

Akwo, thus abandoned by Tashih, spent some months in wandering about among the Tibetan and Tartar tribes,

even consoling himself with a nomad wife taken from the "Tulib" tribe. The death in 1123 of the Nüchên conqueror, Akuta, probably gave him some respite; but at last (1125) he was captured by the Nüchên general, Wanyen-Loushih, at a spot between the Great Wall and modern Ta-t'ung Fu, was degraded to the rank of prince, and died in 1128.

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The habits of the Cathayans may be best understood by contrasting them with those of the Turks and those of the Tunguses (as usually meant). Unlike the Turks, they were great fishers and hawkers, pig-keepers, and exposers rather than burners of dead bodies. Like the Turks, they were great horsemen; but, though kumiss drinkers, they do not seem to have depended so much as the Turks did upon milk foods; and, though dwellers in tents, they do not seem to have possessed cart-tents until they had made explorations amongst the earlier Ouigour tribes lying to their north-east. The primitive Chinese name for the Ouigours was Kao-ch'ê, or "high carts," and the Cathayans first saw cart-tents in the "black carts" country. There is some reason to believe that our word "coach" is derived, through Hungarian, from the same source. Other points in which the Cathayans differed from the Turks were their knowledge of boats; their elective system of presidency rather than hereditary monarchy; and the absence, when the monarchy was established, of anything approaching to the Turkish Associate-Khans, or "Cæsars" associated with the one supreme "Augustus." They had no Romulus-like traditions about wolves and wolf-heads; no broad-arrow emblems ("male and female arrows" were only used as tallies); no tendency to become either Nestorians or Buddhists. But for a completer comparison of habits I must refer readers to the "History of the Early Tunguses" (*China Review*, vol. xxi.), and "A Thousand Years of the Tartars" (Sampson, Low and Co.). As compared with the Eastern Tunguses, the Cathayans were decidedly more horsey and

less swinish, both literally and metaphorically; they depended less upon hunting, and were more nomadic, agricultural and herd-keeping. Their dwellings faced east instead of south. Their system of passing on wives to sons and brothers was Turkish, but apparently not so common as amongst the Turks; whilst among the Nüchêns it is scarcely specifically mentioned at all. One of their peculiarities was "willow shooting," which seems to have been ceremonially indulged in on solemn occasions, such as prayers for rain, sacrifices to Nature and the spirits, and so on. I have already mentioned this in my account of the Nüchêns already cited. Akin to this curious rite was the mysterious "shooting of devil-arrows," frequently mentioned in connection with prisoners of war, exorcising evil, marching out to fight, arresting spies, etc. "In starting out for war, the Emperor used to have a prisoner (or prisoners) who had been sentenced to death put in the direction of the intended march, and shot with innumerable arrows in order to remove evil. On his return captives of war were shot in the same manner, and afterwards the ceremony came to be used in an ordinary judicial way." Even last year the Chinese General Yüan Shï-k'ai so sacrificed some criminals on the occasion of his marching off to check the Germans in Shan Tung (*United Service Magazine*, 1899, p. 540). Possibly the unexplained *balbal* mentioned in the Turkish inscriptions in connection with tombs may refer to this widely-spread idea of sacrificing an enemy to the *manes* of every hero. When Jehangir of Kashgar was captured in 1828, his heart was torn out and placed upon the grave of the Manchu official he had murdered (*Contemporary Review*, 1897, p. 874).

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The Cathayans were great polo players, from the Emperors downwards. The court is described as having a very even, hard floor; the players were all mounted, and took sides, seizing each other and struggling for the ball quite regardless of rank. As an instrument called the

"moon-stick" is mentioned, and presents of "ball-horses" were exchanged with the Turkish dynasties, it is clear that both nations must have played polo, but I cannot say which invented it. One prince was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing, and one Turkish Emperor of Central China "pulled down the accession altar, and turned the site into a polo court." It is fearful to think what Confucius would have said if he had witnessed this. Wrestling was much indulged in; there was a "hare-shooting" feast, and, at the new year, "first goose" and "first fish" festivals, when quills were playfully worn in the hair. There were also sacrifices to the "deer-god" for good sport, and annual fishing tours to the Amur, Sungari, Yalu, and Duck Rivers. Scattering salt to coax over the salt-licking deer is mentioned; and the Nüchên Emperor Akuta, with his Imperial brother Ukimai, whilst still mere chiefs, gained the favour of the last Kitan Emperor by their skill in imitating the cries of game. There were other indoor games which the Emperor used to play with his Ministers, but I cannot identify them in their Chinese dress.

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The question of Cathayan writing has not yet been solved, but it is quite certain that some ingenious Chinese suggested to Apaoki the idea of grouping Chinese pencil-brush strokes in an incongruous way so as to represent local words, and that the "big characters" were issued in 920 for general use. When the same Emperor visited Kara-balgassun, he found there a stone monument to the Ouigour Khan Bilga; a few days later "he directed this old stone to be rubbed away, and he recorded his exploits in Cathayan, Turkish, and Chinese characters." This monument would be a priceless find if we could only discover it; but, as M. Chavannes has pointed out (*Journal Asiatique*, May, 1897), one of the recently-discovered Turkish inscriptions is precisely a trilingual *stèle* from Kara-balgassun, recording in Ouigour, Turkish, and Chinese the exploits precisely of one Bilga. It is not quite clear whether

"his exploits" means Apaoki's or Bilga's exploits; but in any case the Ouigours had then left that region for the south, and never went back to it at any date; so that it is impossible to suppose that they could have revenged themselves upon Apaoki by rubbing out the Cathayan version of Bilga's exploits once more, and by replacing it by an Ouigour version. On the other hand, if Apaoki recorded his own exploits, neither the Turkish nor the Chinese inscription before our eyes at this day says anything about Apaoki. The only reasonable conclusion is that Apaoki was inflamed with ambition for permanent glory when he saw the stone, gave the orders as recorded, and, as he is stated to have left the place in a few days, forgot all about the orders, which probably could not be, and certainly never were, obeyed. That Cathayan script had, however, some vogue is certain, for, as we have seen, in 995 Corea sent a number of youths to study "our country's language"; and Yelüh Tashih is said to have been versed in both Chinese and Cathayan character; the same thing is said of Siao Hankianu (Siao being the "surname" of the second great Cathayan family, from which the Yelüh house always took its wives). Finally, as explained under the head of Nüchên script (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1900), even the Nüchêns used the smaller Cathayan script, and this after they had one of their own.

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It will be easy to understand the nature of the Cathayan Empire if we imagine it to be in the shape of a Maltese cross, the centre being true Cathay, or the Jêho military command of to-day; this was what they called the "Central Metropolitan Province," and the capital (Lat. 41° 30′, Long. 119°) was at a place marked on Wæber's map as Pai-tha-tsz, or "White Pagoda," which is the same thing as the Mongol Tsagan Suborga; this is on the head-waters of the Lohan Pira, *pira* being frequently mentioned in Chinese history as a Tungusic word for "river." The northern shank was called the "Upper Metropolitan

Province"; its capital was the other Tsagan Suborga already described, and it broadened out so as to take in the old Ouigour "Khatun city" (=Queenstown); also a city called T'alan somewhere on the Kerulon; and the Tunguses of the Shilka and Amur: but the distant tributary States were under special military rule, and not under the regular civil system. The eastern shank roughly represents Manchuria in its broadest sense, right up to the Yalu and Corea; the capital of the "Eastern Metropolitan Province" was the modern Liao-yang. The southern shank extended down to Lat. 39°, the Pai-kou Tien of Wæber's map; and the capital of the "Southern Metropolitan Province" was the modern Peking, but slightly moved to the south-west. The remaining shank represents the "Western Metropolitan Province," with capital at Ta-t'ung Fu; it broadened out westwards so as to take in some of the Tibetan and Turkish tribes settled in modern Shan Si. In identifying these places students must be careful to remember that the Cathayans shifted several of their capitals, especially their "central," several times. Towards the north and north-west there were only three important tributary States—the Shih-wei (a name which disappears with the Cathayans), the Tatan, and the Tsupu or Chob. The word "Mungku" appears in the T'ang, Kitan, and Nuchên histories in such a way as to suggest that the Shih-wei (who spoke the same language as the Cathayans), the Tatan, and the later Mongols are mere re-shuffles of one and the same stock or people. I cannot form a conjecture who the Tsupu were; no other history mentions them, though they were sufficiently powerful to give trouble to both Tangut and Cathay. It is just possible they may be the Alti Chub or "Six Chub" of the Turkish inscriptions, but in A.D. 700 these were much farther west.

To the east were Corea and Japan. Corea (Kao-li or Ko-ryê) definitively displaced the peninsular State of Shinra (Sin-lo or Silla) before the year 926, and was never again interfered with by Cathay till the students came in 995;

nor after that was there more than a single short border war with the Kitan power. As to Japan, in 925 alleged tribute was sent; but Japanese history puts a very different complexion upon the matter, and says that the Mikado refused to recognise the envoy sent to Japan "by Manchuria" (*i.e.*, by the state conquered in 925 by the Kitans) because he was not duly accredited. In 1091 a certain Chêng Yuan conducted a large tribute mission from Japan to Cathay. Japanese history says nothing of it, but exactly the same man is mentioned in the Sung history as being a Japanese author a century earlier; still, the names of two of his fellow-envoys have the ring of truth about them, and whilst there may be some confusion, it is improbable that there is misrepresentation.

The Cathayans had extensive relations with Tangut (*i.e*, the kingdom of the Ordos or Yellow River Loop region), and also with various Tibetan tribes of the Kokonor region. The diplomatic relations with the three or four petty Ouigour States were regular; but Cathayan influence never extended to modern Turfan, Hami, Urumtsi, Cobdo, Kashgar, or Yarkand; unless, indeed, the Tsupu represent the Hami-Cobdo region. The Turks came in 928 and 991; but these must have been mere remnant tribes, for the Ouigours (themselves mere remnants) had long supplanted the true Turks, who were now in full career west. The Kirghiz came in 931, 952, 976; but that means very little, as the Kirghiz never became a serious power, and had long disappeared from Chinese ken; moreover, there is evidence that in one of the above cases the words "Turk" and "Kirghiz" were used by the historians to indicate what was really one and the same mission. From 1093 to 1099 there were brushes with the Basmals, a tribe of Turks who are known to have lived in 700 somewhere about Urumtsi, and are also mentioned in the Turkish inscriptions.

Thus it will be seen that China proper, except in the neighbourhood of Peking and the Great Wall, remained practically untouched by Cathay, as also did Corea, Tibet,

and Turkestan. Cathay was in its essence a purely Mongol-Manchu power, the Mongol element being dominant. The Nüchêns were much the same power with another face to it, the Manchu element being dominant; but the area of China proper encroached upon by the Nüchêns was larger. The present Manchu power is once more the same, or was so; but the Mongol element has now been completely emasculated by drink and religion, whilst the dominant Manchu element has, in politically absorbing the whole of China proper, been itself socially absorbed into Chinese life, and has emasculated itself by opium and women.

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The Cathayan military organization was very like that of the Boers. Every male between fifteen and fifty was liable to serve, and every man provided his own horse and kit. The rallying-place where armies were generated was Dalai Nor (Lat. 43° 20′, Long. 117°). The campaigns were almost always conducted in the autumn-winter season, and it was the invariable practice of the Cathayans to ravage the enemy's country. A gold-fish tally was the sole means of authorizing the movement of provincial troops: bird tallies had other uses; and all troops were mounted, whilst an excellent system of scouting and cavalry picketing secured the main army from surprise whilst on the march. In the five metropolitan provinces—*i.e.*, in the empire viewed from a regulation or directly administrative point of view—there were at the best period 1,640,000 soldiers. Besides these, there were the troops of the sixty vassal states, only a few of which were actually ever called upon to supply armies. Thus the Shih-wei regularly supplied standing regiments, and also sent horses; the Hi (apparently the Tata-Bi of the Turkish inscriptions) were incorporated bodily; the Nüchêns had to fight against Corea, and at the same time were held responsible for keeping the other eastern Tunguses in order; they also supplied horses. The Coreans, on the other hand, were expected to join against

the Nüchêns. The Ouigours supplied remounts. The Tanguts were ordered to assist against the Basmals; the Tibetans to assist against the Tanguts; and so on with the Tsupu, Tukuhun, and other mixed or doubtful tribes. All the Cathayan military titles are given, but I will not encumber these pages with unintelligible names. I will merely indicate, amongst others, the well-known Turkish and Ouigour title of *muiluk* (identified by Dr. Marquart with what he calls the "Old-Turkish" word *buiruk*); it appears in the following disguises, *miluk*, *meilao*, *molin*, *moli*, *meili*, *meiling*, *muilêng*, from A.D. 600 down to our own day; also the word *ta-la-kan* (*tarkhan*), which also has a pedigree of 1,200 years. The title *sz-kin* (*djigin*) is specifically stated to be Turkish. The Cathayan *t'ik-yin* I take also to be the Turkish and Ouigour *tegin*, which appears so often in the inscriptions. The rest of the purely Cathayan titles must lie by for the present until we know more. If we ask from what population so large a number of soldiers was drawn, we must answer that the Cathayans have left us no military records similar to those of the Nüchêns; besides, they never owned the four or five Chinese provinces which easily brought the population of the Nüchên Empire up to 50,000,000. It is evident that 1,640,000 men between the ages of fifteen and fifty must mean at least 3,200,000 males, as many females, and twice as many children—say, a minimum population of 20,000,000, of which the Chinese would certainly form two-thirds. The outlying tribes of the areas subject to Cathay have never, even to this day, numbered more than about a million souls, nor does all Siberia now contain 5,000,000. Nor is there any record left of a financial and administrative capacity such as distinguishes the Nüchêns and Manchus, and even to a certain extent the Mongols. The Cathayans, in short, were the Vandals of China, and have left not even a wrack behind them; their very name is unknown to popular tradition in the places they once occupied; nor is there a single incident recorded of any Cathayan which suggests

the least nobility of character, with the single exception of Yelüh Tashih.

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In religion the Cathayans seem to have been shamanistic, but no mention is made of priests. Later, Buddhist bonzes gained some influence. The old Kitans worshipped the sun, but not the moon, and faced east at all sacrifices. There were sacrifices to mountains, prayers for rain, burnt sacrifices of gratitude, and (for the royal families alone) twelve-yearly lustrations called "being born again." White horses and gray oxen were sacrificed to Heaven and Earth, and later also to ancestors; sometimes gray horses and red oxen. Geese and deer are mentioned as being sacrificed to Heaven alone, and the sun-worship at *Tailin* (a vague term variously supposed to be a willow coppice and a place-name) is specifically and manifestly that of the ancient Sien-pi; moreover, the burnt rams, facing east, the "Red Mountain," the marriage customs, etc., all combine to show that the Cathayans and Shih-wei (*i.e.*, as I believe the Mongols) were different phases of one and the same Tungusic *souche.* Human sacrifices, akin to suttee, of concubines, slaves, favourites, or prisoners with the distinguished dead, were not infrequent, but perhaps not common. A curious ceremony of "leading a ram" (or possibly goat) is twice mentioned in connection with the formal surrender of kings in mourning attire; also the presenting to the surrendered as personal names of the names of the conqueror's war chargers.

There is not the same specific evidence of Cathayans marrying stepmothers and sisters-in-law as there is in Turkish history. In 940 marriages with deceased wives' sisters were abolished, which looks as though a radical change in ideas had taken place. In the same year Cathayans holding Chinese office were allowed to marry Chinese with Chinese forms. In 1017 women of a certain rank were forbidden to re-marry; and in 1019 the "three superior tents" (probably akin to the Manchu "three superior banners") were forbidden to marry with the "meaner

tents," and all marriages in superior tents had to receive imperial sanction. In 1094 border people were prohibited from marrying with foreigners.

* * * * *

It is not easy to make much out of the Kitan words given to us on Kien-lung's authority in Chinese dress. But two are very suggestive: *Ta-hu-li*, "cultivator," and *Sho-lu-n*, "mountain-peak." I take these words to be the etymological origin of the Daour and Solun Tunguses of to-day. There is also a word *A-mu-t'a-ha*, "hunter," which may be the Manchu word *butkha*, "hunter," now applied to the town of "Putcha," written Butkha by the Russians. *T'ê-li-n* is Cathayan for "lake," and *t'ê-lin* is Nüchên for "sea"; they both suggest connection with the Manchu *mederin*, "the sea." The *swan wo-lu-to* is said to mean "intimate ordo" —*i.e.*, the royal or higher caste. The other ordo are thus enumerated: *Kwo-a-lien*, "grazers"; *ye-lu-wan*, "prosperous"; *p'u-su-wan*, "start grandeur"; *to-li-pên*, "conquering"; *kien-mu*, "bequeath"; *ku-wên*, "prince" (possibly a misprint for "jewel"); *nüku*, "gold"; *wo-tu-wan*, procreate"; *a-sz*, "broad"; *alu-wan*, "assist"; *tê-shih-tê-pên* (or *ch'ih-shih-tê-pên*), "filial"; *na-po*, "shooting-box," or "travelling palace"; *cho-wa*, "falcons"; *t'ê-li-kien*, "Empress"; *nou-wo* (*mo*), "earth (mother)"; *sa-la*, "wine cup." The word *i-r* occurs in such a way that it must mean "day," and this suggests a connection with the Corean *il*, "day," which, however, is a strictly regular form of the ancient Chinese *yit*, "a day," now pronounced *jï* in Peking. *Wan* is evidently a grammatical inflection or agglutination.

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The next question is, Where are the Cathayans now? In 1161-63 there was a serious rebellion, which caused the Nüchêns to abolish the semi-independent Kitan chiliarchs and centurions, to confiscate all their horses, and to distribute the Cathayans over the Nüchên divisions. In 1169 another Cathayan revolt was quelled, and the Cathayans who did not revolt were removed to the "Ukuli-Shïle"

land, which seems to mean modern Tsitsihar. In 1196 yet another Cathayan revolt near the Shira Muren was crushed, but in 1201 Cathayan officers who had done good service were allowed to have their horses once more. In 1213-17 there were risings of Cathayans not far from the point where the Shira Muren joins the Liao.

In 1213 a Cathayan chief named Ulanbar encouraged Genghiz Khan's general, Chebé, to occupy the passes north of Peking, and another Cathayan named Yelüh Ahai was envoy from the Nüchêns to the court of Wang Khan (Prester John of the Keraits), where he saw Genghiz, and went over to his interest. But a good many Cathayans crept out of danger into Corea at this time. In 1261 Kublai set a Cathayan named Yelüh Chou to work on his native country's history. In 1268 it was decided that there should be no governors (*darugachi*) taken from Cathayans, Nuchêns, or Chinese; only Mussulmans, Ouigours, Naimans, and Tanguts could share these ranks with the Mongols. In 1281 the Cathayans were impressed for service in the Japanese war, and in 1290 for similar soldiering in the war against Nayen mentioned by Marco Polo, who, however, whilst speaking of the Peking plain, Shan Si, etc., as "Kataia," never mentions any Cathayan *people*, except in the sense of "people of North China." This seems to show that the Cathayan empire conquered by the Nüchêns continued to be called "Cathay" by the Mongols at least during the century that elapsed before the Mongols conquered it from the Nüchêns. Dr. Bretschneider informs me that *Kitan* is the Mongol plural of *Kitat*, "Chinese people," and from it the Russians at the beginning of the seventeenth century derived their word *Kitai*, "Chinese." The Coreans (by euphonic rule) call the Cathayans *Kyöran*, which means that they considered the original Chinese syllables to be *Kit-an*, and not *Ki-tan*; this means again in Corean *Kyöl-an*, instead of *Kye-tan*. I discovered this myself when in Corea. The descendants of the Cathayans who assisted Genghiz occupied official posts during Mongol

times. One of them was called Ch'ou-nu; and this is a very remarkable fact, for Ch'ou-nu, written with those identical characters, was, 800 years before Genghiz's time, the name of a Jwan-jwan prince. Therefore, there is an additional reason, besides those given in my "A Thousand Years of the Tartars," for surmising that the Jwan-jwan were rather Tungusic than Turk. Any way, Gibbon has been completely misled in identifying them with those Avars who eventually found their way to Europe, and who were chased thither by the Western Turk branch.

During the Chinese Ming dynasty which replaced the Mongols in 1368, and which was displaced by the Manchus in 1644, the very name of "Kitan" totally disappeared; there is not a single mention in Ming history of either them or their kinsmen the Shih-wei. Incontestably they must have been swallowed up in the Mongol vortex, or distributed amongst the Nüchêns. Both Mongols and Nüchêns were practically left to themselves during the Ming dynasty, to blossom out afresh as the Mongol Djirgughan Tumen, or "Sixteen Myriads," evidently the old *mingan* system, the Khalkas, Kalmucks, Manchus, etc.

The Manchu Emperor K'ien-lung distinctly identifies the modern Solons with the old Kitans, and this is in accord with the fact that half of them were removed to the Ukuli-Shile land. Moreover, a number of supposed Nüchên words in his chapter on the Nüchên-Manchu language are stated by him to be Solon. As the Nüchêns had adopted those words from some other tongue, and no Solons existed in those days; moreover, as the Nüchêns also used and modified the Kitan government system and writing, it is evident they must have borrowed these Solon words from the Kitans, for there was no other organized tribe to borrow from. The words are certainly not Tangut, or Corean, or Turkish. At present half the Solons are on the Nonni in Tsitsihar, and half in Ili, whither they were sent as military colonists in 1760. With them are some of their neighbours of Tsitsihar or Kirin, the Sibê,

who, the Manchus explain, are really Mongols, and not Manchus. These must surely be the Sib of 1,000 years ago, who, though living near the Kitans, were stated to be a kind of Turk. Dr. Bretschneider tells me that the Russian Solons of Dauria speak only Mongol.

In 1691 the Manchu Emperor visited the Sibê Pira to give presents to the Kalkas and Korchins. In 1707 he visited the T'ao-r Pira to give presents to the Solons. In 1747 K'ien-lung tells us "both Solons and Mongols were under the Nüchêns at the zenith of their power." The Solons and Daours are usually mentioned together in Manchu history. The Solons, Bargu, and Cherim are also mentioned as serving together. The Bargu are mentioned with the "Mescript" (Merkits) by Marco Polo, and Palladius describes them as Mongols. In 1805 and 1816 the Manchu Emperor sent a man to sacrifice at the tomb of Apaoki somewhere on the Shira Muren.

Hence, we may sum up as follows: The western branch of the ancient Tung-hu, called Sien-pi and Wu-wan, are the ancestors of the Cathayans. The Cathayans and Shih-wei were merely "ripe" and "raw" varieties of the same Tunguses. Among the Shih-wei tribes were the Wu-wan and the Mung-ku, thus connecting as by a link the ancient Wu-wan with the modern Mongols. The Solons, Daours, and Butkha are all more or less Mongol-Tungus, and all three words perhaps appear in the Kitan language of 1,000 years ago. The Sibê are a special instance of how Mongol and Tungus tribes have always been apt to run into each other. The Mongols are themselves, if not Tungus, at least more Tungus than Turk. All the above, of course, refers to the Western Tunguses, who are as far removed from the Turkish element to their west as they are from the Eastern Tunguses, or Manchu element, to their east.

SIĀM'S INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA

(SEVENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES).

By Major G. E. Gerini, M.R.A.S.

INTRODUCTION.

Historical Sources.

A connected history of the intercourse between Siām and China has yet to be written, and probably never will be done, because of the scarcity of materials, especially of those for the earlier periods. An endeavour has been made in these pages to collect most of the available data contained in those portions of the Chinese records and encyclopædic compilations which have been made accessible to non-Sinologists, through translations by European scholars, as well as all that could be discovered in Siāmese literature bearing upon the subject, and which has not been as yet—except in one solitary instance, and that incompletely—brought to light. An exhaustive search into the extensive field of Chinese records may yet yield important items of information, especially in regard to the intercourse which took place during the last six or seven centuries, although it is unlikely that any of the principal missing links in the long chain of Siāmo-Chinese relations, stretching over fully twelve centuries, may turn up.

In so far, however, as the Siāmese side is concerned, an analogous occurrence would seem still more improbable, unless some portion of the ancient records, lost in the destruction of the former capital, Ayuthia, is recovered, or some new epigraphic monument or manuscript be unearthed that will supply us with the information we are still in need of. Whatever can be gathered out of the débris of the extant Siāmese records has been reproduced here in its entirety, and it will be seen, after a perusal, that the gist of it is very inconsiderable, the rest being made up of legend and puerile fiction, so that we have mainly to depend upon the evidence of Chinese historians and travellers for reliable particulars on Siāmo-Chinese relations up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, from that stage onwards to the middle of the century now about to expire, the period at which official intercourse between the two States practically ended, materials on the Siāmese side are plentiful enough to allow of a fuller treatment of the subject than would be afforded by the scanty and disconnected accounts given on the Chinese side. It will thus be seen that, in spite of the drawbacks referred to, in certain respects the information on the one side completes that on the other, and that no satisfactory result could be attained unless both are brought face to face, and thoroughly sifted and compared, as we propose to do here. It will, however, remain with Chinese scholars, in their special line of research, to fill up the gaps still left on their side, and to complete by further explorations

into the jungle of original Chinese literature the information which we have here gathered together.

IDENTIFICATION OF CH'IH-T'U.

In Chinese literature, Siām is first referred to in the *Sui-shu** under the name of *Ch'ih-t'u*. The earliest known relations between Siām and China did, in fact, take place under that dynasty, as will be shown in due course. *Ch'ih-t'u* means "Red Earth," and we are told that this term was applied to the country on account of the soil being very red at the spot where its capital was situated. It is a source of no small surprise to me that this "Red Earth" theory could so far obtain acceptance among Oriental scholars without a word of either reservation or protest. Out of several scores of toponymics recorded by Chinese authors as belonging to the Indo-Chinese peninsula into which I had occasion to examine, I have scarcely as yet found a single genuine Chinese name, until a comparatively recent period is reached. When the number of Chinese settlers in the land had considerably increased, then genuine Chinese place-names begin to crop up, presenting a translation of some native designation. All without distinction turned out to be transliterations of local terms, adapted, it is true, whenever there was a chance of so doing, so as to express some context in Chinese, however odd and nonsensical it might appear to the mind. Early Chinese travellers did not care for, in fact, or, like the Romans of old, were too proud to learn, the meaning of words in what they considered to be barbarous languages; they simply took down the native place-names in a leisurely manner, unsparingly rough-handling them in Procrustean attempts to make them fit into the iron moulds of their graphic system. Thus, a set of quaint and mostly absurd designations for places in foreign lands were produced, which, though Chinese-like in sound and meaning, are in reality but exotic terms tricked up in pig-tailed garb, and therefore eminently apt to exercise the ingenuity and polemic powers of philologists, holding further back that ideal era of perpetual concord in their ranks without which no universal peace-scheme would seem capable of realization.

That the soil was very red in appearance at the site of the ancient Siāmese capital there is no doubt, it being there, as I have ascertained *de visu*, of a lateritic formation, heavily charged with iron oxide; but the fact remains that it looks more or less red all over Indo-China, especially along the coast-line, and just as intensely at many particular spots, which have in consequence been named accordingly in the local idiom peculiar to them. Among such I may quote *Tanah-merah* (in Malay, "Red Country"), in the Malay Peninsula; *Thā Din-deng* (in Siāmese, "Red Earth Landing-place"), on the Mé Khōng River in Siām proper; and *Raktamrittika* (in Sanskrit, "Red Clay"), recorded in a Sanskrit inscription in Province Wellesley as the name of a seaport on the Malay Peninsula, which I have identified with Mergui (called in Siāmese *Mărit* or *Mrit*). Such instances might be multiplied, and I may add, moreover, that the

* Chronicles of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-618), compiled about the middle of the seventh century A.D., Book 82.

term *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* (meaning, in substance, "land of a good or bright colour," and metaphorically "Golden Land"), applied from the earliest period to a part of Indo-China, was really suggested by the reddish appearance of the soil on the coast-line of that region rather than by any particular abundance in it of the precious metal. This is, of course, a mere conjecture. It is only on the shores of Cochin-China, and precisely to the north-east of Bāria, between Capes Tiu-an and Ba-kè, that we meet with another *Ch'ih-t'u* (*Hsik-t'ou* in Annamese pronunciation, or, as the French spell it in their missionary *quoc-ngü*, *Xich-tho*), this being, we are told,* the designation applied to part of the territory of P'huoc-an and P'huoc-hung, on account of the soil being very red there, and giving rise to a fine dust, which permeates everywhere, and tinges everything—even the air—with that colour. This may be a genuine Chinese toponymic,† in which case it cannot certainly boast of much antiquity. But if of long standing, I have no doubt it conceals, under its Chinese dress, some native term, either Khmer or Chām, which has most likely no connection whatever with the connotation it acquires in Chinese.‡ Analogously, with the identical term *Ch'ih-t'u* employed to designate the territory in

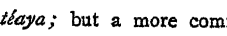
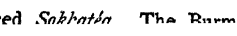
* In Trang-hoi-duc's "Gia-dinh-thung-chi," Aubaret's translation, p. 173.

† Certainly not of Annamese origin, in which case its terms would be reversed, so as to read *T'ou-hsik* or *Tho-xich*, since in Annamese adjective follows noun.

‡ Another *Ch'ih-t'u* was apparently in the island of Hainan, if K'ang Hsi's thesaurus, the *Pei-wen Yun Fu*, is correct, which I doubt, and for a very good reason. We read, in fact, in an extract from that work (see *China Review*, vol. xiv., p. 40): "*Ch'ih-t'u* State or *Wan-an Chou* [Hainan].—If you go south by sea with a good wind, in fourteen days you reach Ki-lung Island [Formosa], and then at once reach this State, which is an island in the Red Sea [*Ch'ih Hai*]." Here the translator, Mr. E. H. Parker, is undoubtedly wrong in taking *Ki-lung* Island to be Formosa, which was not known under this name until the sixteenth century, and after the Dutch had established themselves there, at the port bearing that designation. The passage referred to above is certainly of a much older date. It will be seen in the sequel that *Ki-lung* designates an island in the Gulf of Siām, mentioned by the Chinese envoys sent to *Ch'ih-t'u* in A.D. 607 as being met with immediately before reaching the shores of that kingdom, which statement is in perfect agreement with the above passage. The *Ch'ih-Hai*, or "Red Sea," is here the sea of *Shelaheth* of the Arab navigators of the ninth century, which I have shown elsewhere to be the same as the *Lohita* or *Srī-lohit* Sea of Indū literature, and the sea of *Selat*—*i.e.*, of the Straits of the present day; but here it may be taken in the sense of "Sea of *Ch'ih-t'u*" = Gulf of Siām. As to *Wan-an Chou*, it is known to be the designation which the present *Wan Chou* in Hainan bore at the time of the Sui dynasty; but here this name may have been introduced through some oversight on the part of the compiler, otherwise we must take it that either Siām, its people, or some of its districts must have been known of old by that name or by some one of the forms in which it is pronounced in the various Chinese dialects: *Man-on*, *Ban-an*, *Van-an*, *Wang-ang*. These are suggestive of the terms *Vānar* or *Bahnar* ("people dwelling in the forests"), *Vana*, *Vanain* ("forest"), *Man*, *Môn*, *Môñ*, or *Manya* (from *Rāmañ*, *Rāmañña*, people of Môñ-Khmer race), etc. As regards *Ch'ih-t'u* being described as an island in the extract cited above, this need not disconcert us, since nearly all the countries of Indo-China were by the Chinese authors of the Sui and T'ang periods said to be islands—*e.g.*, *Fu-nan* (Eastern Kamboja), *Tun-sun* (part of the Malay Peninsula), etc. We must then conclude, until proof to the contrary, that the *Ch'ih-t'u* above alluded to is in Siām, and not in Hainan. With a good wind, it could certainly be reached in fourteen days from Canton, the place that the author of that passage had

which stood the ancient Siāmese capital, every probability seems to be in favour of that term being a mere phonetic rendering, rather than a Chinese translation, of the topical name by which the natives of the country called either their capital or the district around it. In order to detect what was the local term that lies disguised under this puzzling Chinese diagram *Ch'ih-t'u*, we must bear in mind that the characters which compose it were not in the old days pronounced as they now would be in Pekingese, which is the form that for uniformity's sake, and in compliance with the method now generally followed, we have adopted in transcribing them here. Even in the various dialects spoken at present in China and adjoining regions, those two characters would be read differently. Now, Sinologists are fairly agreed upon the point that out of the dialects referred to, the old pronunciation, and, above all, the ancient finals of words—which in most of them have in the course of time become obliterated or modified—are best preserved in Cantonese and, to a somewhat lesser degree, in Annamese, Korean, and Japanese imported Chinese words. On the strength of this assumption, and taking into account that the characters, reading *Ch'ih-t'u* in Pekingese, sound instead as *Ch'ik-t'ou* or *Ch'ek-t'ou* in Cantonese, *Hsik-t'ou* in Annamese, *Ch'ak-t'u* in Hakka, *Chok-to* in Korean, and *Seki-to* or *Shaku-to* in Japanese,* we may well infer that at the time they were employed to record the name either of Siām's capital or of the site upon which the latter stood, they must have been pronounced somewhat like *Sakda* or *Sakut'a*. Now, this is, it will be admitted, a pretty fair approach to *Sukhada*, also called *Sukhodaya*, and pronounced *Sukhothai* by the vulgar, the name of the ancient capital of northern Siām proper, and by extension of the territory of the State over which it swayed, which at various periods embraced also portions of southern Siām, and in later days had extended far into Pegu and Cambodia, and a good deal down the Malay Peninsula. I have therefore no doubt that *Ch'ih-t'u*, or, as we should perhaps now write it, *Sakda* or *Sakhoda*, is but a phonetic rendering of *Sukhada*, slightly modified so as to make it express the meaning of "Red Earth," justifiable by the appearance of the soil, thus making it easier of retention, while satisfying the exigencies of those of the Chinese literati gifted with a philological turn of mind. It would seem, in fact, from the context of the early Chinese accounts of *Ch'ih-t'u*, that the author's intention was to palm off this place-name as being the native designation which Siām's capital or its territory bore at the time, coincident in both letter and meaning with the characters by which it was rendered in Chinese. As we know, no Chinese dialect was spoken by the people inhabiting Siām proper at the time, and therefore such a coincidence would be impossible. However, as the natives of the country were then of Mōñ-Khmēr race and speech, *Sukhada* would be pronounced as it is by the Mōñ of the present day, *Saktéa*, *Sokketéa*, or *Sokkhaudéa*,† thus

* Pronunciation as supplied by Mr. E. H. Parker in Giles's "Chinese Dictionary," *s.v.*

† *Sukhodaya* is transcribed in Mōñ as  (*Sukkhaudāya*), which is pronounced *Sŏkkhautéaya;* but a more common form of spelling it is  (*Sukkadā*), pronounced *Sokhatéa*. The Burmese who ...

justifying the rendering of the first syllable as *ch'ih* (in Cantonese *ch'ek*, in Korean *chŏk*, and in Annamese *hsik*). It would appear, therefore, that while the transcription was sufficiently accurate, the connotation put upon it is of purely Chinese invention, and to one acquainted with the vagaries not only of Chinese, but of travellers in general, no matter of what nationality, such an occurrence cannot come as a surprise.

No apology is, I hope, needed for my having gone into so many particulars as regards the interpretation of this single place-name of *Ch'ih-t'u*. As the latter has hitherto been but vaguely, and on the basis of circumstantial evidence alone, assumed to apply to some place in Siām, taking it as its value and in the sense ascribed to it by the Chinese literati, I have thought it of material importance for the present inquiry to locate it and to establish its application more definitely, despite the fact that, in so doing, I had to run down one of those pet theories which have so far obtained among Oriental scholars. With this, let us now hope that the "Red-Earth" bubble is exploded.* If such will prove to be the case, and *Sukhada* or *Sukhothai* will be recognised as the true equivalents of the Chinese *Ch'ih-t'u*, the foregoing discussion will not have been made in vain, and the pains I have taken for some time past to trace the true meaning of that puzzling geographical expression will not have been useless. I may add, in conclusion, that no other locality of a similar name to *Sukhada* or *Sukhodaya* existed of old in Siām; hence it may be taken as pretty well certain that to this alone the term *Ch'ih-t'u* could have been applied.

Identification of "Seng-ch'i."

There is, however, another difficulty cropping up which must be got over before we proceed. This arises from the statement of the Chinese travellers that the capital of *Ch'ih-t'u*, or at least the city where the King resided, was called *Sêng-ch'i*, or *Sêng-chi*, *i.e.*, *Sangha* or *Sankha*, and was surrounded by a triple enceinte of walls. At first sight the city of *Svarga-*

Thukkaté or *Thuhkaté*. The Talaing (Mōñ) work on Gavampati-thera, to which I have of late drawn the attention of Oriental scholars, has (Book I.) the form ဆက်ကဒါဂါမ် (*Sak-kadā-gām*, pronounced *Sakkaṭa-kēm*), intended evidently to represent *Sukhada-gāma*, as the *u* vowel appendage may have been dropped in the course of repeated transcriptions at the hands of ignorant scribes. This designation is, of course, meant to refer to the time when Sukhôthai was yet a mere *gāma*, or "village," and I take it as a further proof that the original name of Sukhôthai and its territory really was *Sukhada*, as I have inferred from other circumstances.

* As an instance of the wild speculations that the name of *Ch'ih-t'u* has led to, I may adduce the following extract from an article in explanation of the titles of the early Chinese Emperors, which appeared in the *China Review*, vol. xiv. In it the author, in discussing the title of *Yen-ti*, the "Fiery God," applied to Shèn-nung (B.C. 2838), bursts upon the reader with the following amazing argumentation (p. 27): "As for *Yen-ti*, we find that *Yen* [flame, blaze, hot] is the antique form of *Ch'ih* [red, fire, hot], and the deity is called in the Lushih *Ch'ih-t'i*, the "Red God." He was, then, doubtless a deification of the planet Mars. Curiously enough, *Ch'ih-t'u* (red land) is an old name for Siam, referring, as according to Pallegoix does the word Sayam [*sic* in Pallegoix, who unfortunately was innocent of either Pāli or Sanskrit] itself, perhaps to the reddish-brown colour of the people, so that read with this light the Red God of the South may

loka (whose name is pronounced by the present Siāmese *Swankha-lôk*, but vulgarly contracted into *Sankha-lôk*, and even nasalized into *Saṅkha-lôk*), would appear to be meant. Old Swankha-lôk stood on the same branch and bank of the river as Sukhothai, and only at some thirty miles' distance above it, being besides the latter's sister-town, with which it divided the honour of being alternatively the capital of the State. If the Sovereign resided, for instance, at Swankha-lôk, he would install his nearest relative, whether son or brother, as *uparāja* in Sukhothai, and *vice versâ*. Often on the death of the Sovereign his successor, that is, the *uparāja*, would prefer to keep his residence in the city and district over which he had been ruling so far, instead of removing to the capital of the King who preceded him, which in his turn he would hand over to the new *uparāja*, and so forth. Owing to the capital being thus continually shifted from one to the other of the two cities, the names of both these came to be collectively employed to designate the State or kingdom. As, however, Swankhalôk was better known under the alternative appellation of *Sajjanālaya* or *Srī Sajjanālaya*, from the name of the venerable ascetic under whose auspices it is alleged to have been founded, the realm was styled the "Kingdom of *Srī Sajjanālaya-Sukhodaya*."* By outsiders, nevertheless, it would be—as in fact it was—spoken of simply as the "Kingdom of Sukhothai," whether the capital was at one or the other of the two royal cities. At first sight it would then appear, as already pointed out—from the fact that the early Chinese travellers mention *Séng-ch'i* as being the King's residence—that the capital of the State was at that time at Swankhalôk. But then there is the statement to the effect that *Sêng-ch'i* was surrounded by a triple enceinte of walls, and here the difficulty presents itself. I had occasion to minutely survey the ruins of both Sukhothai and Swankhalôk, as well as of other ancient cities of Siām, and it was only at Sukhothai that I could not only trace, but plainly distinguish, a triple set of ramparts. These consist of earthen mounds thrown up in order to encase and strengthen the ancient walls—built in a quasi-cyclopean style of laterite blocks intermixed with

* When this State was absorbed into the kingdom of Ayuthia in the second half of the fourteenth century, and a Governor was appointed over Swankhalôk, the term *Srī Sajjanālaya* was embodied in his title, so as to connote his function, and remained there ever after, being transmitted to all the subsequent Governors appointed to that post, as may be seen from the collection of the old laws of Siām (vol. i., p. 201, law of A.D. 1454 on the rank and titles of provincial officials). In view of this fact, as well as of the evidence from the Northern Chronicles establishing the identity of Sajjanālaya with Swankhalôk, it is a matter of no small surprise to me that the learned Père Schmitt, in vol. i., p. 8, of the "Exploration de l'Indo Chine" (Mission Pavie, Paris, 1894), could explain in this strain: "Sajjanālaya est aujourd'hui oublié; personne ne peut indiquer ses ruines"; after which he goes on to suggest that Kamp'hèng P'het may be the vainly-sought-for Sajjanālaya. The same mistake is, of course, repeated in Fournereau's "Le Siam ancien" (Paris, 1895, p. 155); but here it does no longer come as a surprise, for the book just named is literally teeming with glaring blunders of this and other kinds. Suffice it to mention that its highly imaginative author dogmatically explains the name of Swankhalôk (*Svargaloka*) thus (p. 53): "Sangkalôka [*sic*]=la terre du Sangha" [!!]. *Faire de l'archéologie pour rire* is certainly a legitimate pastime, but if one wants to be taken *au sérieux* he must possess at least some rudimentary knowledge of the extant historical literature of the country and of the language or languages that were current in its old days.

bricks—which are still visible in several places, where slips occurred. It is evident that these earthworks are but modern additions, while the walls encased in them must have constituted the original enceinte of the city.

As for Swankhalôk, with the exception of the remains of a rather insignificant wall which separated the royal city proper in the north from the rest of the town, extending southwards, no trace of any additional enceinte can be traced besides the ordinary wall, built here also of laterite blocks, encircling the town. A triple-walled arrangement would, besides, have been scarcely practicable, owing to the background further from the river being hilly with steep slopes, and to the space between these and the river being limited. I am therefore inclined to believe, both from the peculiar disposition of the enceinte of the town and from other particulars given in the Chinese narrative, to which we shall revert in due course, that the city which the early Chinese envoys visited was Sukhothai, and not Swankhalôk.

Such being the case, it remains to explain how they could refer to it as *Sêng-ch'i*, a name ostensibly belonging to the sister-town. It may be observed, in the first place, that this may be the result of a mistake due to the envoys having confounded the names of the two cities as one and the same; or it may be that other Chinese missions followed the first, having been separately received at either of the two cities, and that the Celestial historians and cyclopædists in compiling the reports of these missions, *more solito*, inextricably mixed up the particulars of one account with those of another, thus producing one of those egregious hodge-podges for which they have earnt imperishable fame. But yet a quite different explanation might be given which would clear the Chinese historiographers of any charge of confusion in connection with the matter, and that is to the effect that Sukhothai may have also been well known by some name approaching to the one given in the Chinese records, and consequently given also to that of its sister-town. Of this fact I find some indications in the local records, although not meeting with any distinct mention of the name. As Oriental scholars are well aware, cities in India and Indo-China often changed names, and in many instances bore several designations at the same time. We have just seen that Swankhalôk was contemporaneously and preferably referred to under its alternative appellation of Sajjanālaya. In the case of Sukhothai we meet with an even more varied assortment of names. The oldest of these appears to have been *Ripunjaya* or *Haripunjaya*, twisted by some Buddhist wiseacre into *Harîbhuñja*, in order to make it consistent with an absurd legend, according to which Gotama Buddha paid a visit to the spot, and partook there of a yellow myrobalan fruit (*Harîtaka*, *Hari-phala*) which had been presented to him. At that time the place is said to have been—like the neighbouring site of the future Swankhalôk—a mere village, or rather a cluster of five hamlets, occupied by Brāhman families, all related to each other, and their descendants, some of whom from Sukhothai, from Moggallî, the mother of Moggallāna-thera; and some from Swankhalôk, from Sārî, the mother of Sāriputta-thera.*

* Such transpositions of the birthplaces of the two principal disciples of Buddha from India to Siām need not surprise; it is quite a distinctive feature of Buddhist conventionalism, in Burmā and Siām especially, where almost each town arrogates to itself the

When, several hundred years later (dates are jumbled and conflicting, but the most reliable seems to be 101 B.C.), Swankhalôk was built on the advice of two famous hermits, of whom one was the Sajjanālaya, already referred to, and under the direction of *Bā* (Master) *Dhammarāja*, the chief of that village community, this latter personage was crowned as King in the new city upon its completion, seven years having then elapsed from the commencement of the work (*i.e.*, in 94 B.C.). Having married a descendant of Lady Moggallī, of the sister-village community of Harībhuñja, the new ruler was honoured by her with three sons, for whom he built walled cities, which he gave them to govern as vassal Kings. Among the new foundations was *Harībhuñja-nagara*, or *Harībhuñjaya*, which by the addition of a royal residence in its midst and protective walls all round was transformed from a mere cluster of hamlets into a regal city. This fell to the lot of Prince *Ulôka*, or *Ulūka* (Ulôka-kumāra), the second son of the Swankhalôk King. Upon being installed as ruler in the newly-founded residence, this Prince received from his father the suzerain, with the title of Dharmās'oka-rāja, that of King of Harībhuñjaya (*circa* 70 B.C.). Other versions give, however, slightly different titles, to wit: *Dharmās'oka-daya*, or simply *As'oka-daya*, and it is pretended that out of homage to the name of its first ruler the city had its original appellation of *Harībhuñja*, or *Harībhuñjaya*, changed into *Sukhodaya*, which is therefore spelled with the assibilated *s* thus: *Sukhodaya*. This is but another instance of those fanciful etymologies which native lexicographers often try to foist upon the unwary public. For although *Sukhodaya*, meaning "Dawn of Happiness," bears some subordinate relation of sense to *As'oka-daya*, "Giving freedom from sorrow," especially if the latter be read as *As'okodaya*, "Dawn of emancipation from sorrow," a literal derivation of the former from the latter by metamorphosis of *As'oka* into *Sukha* is grammatically inadmissible. What can be gathered from the above medley is rather that the name of the King must have been *Sukhodaya*, and that of the city and region over which he ruled *Sukhada*, an assumption which appears to be supported by other evidence besides that already adduced when discussing the interpretation to be put upon the term *Ch'ih-t'u*. *Sukhodaya* as a designation for the city and kingdom must have been a later improvement upon its original name of *Sukhada*, suggested by the desire to make it convey different fanciful meanings which I have already discussed in a former number of this Review,* and

honour of having been the scene of some characteristic episode in the life of Buddha, or of being the birthplace of some eminent Buddhist personage, such as Moggallāna, Sāriputta, Ānanda, King Milinda of debating fame, etc. By reference to the Chinese accounts of *P'iao* (Lower Burmā), it will be seen how the chief city of that country also boasted of having given birth to *Shê-li-fo* (Sāriputta). See Hervey de Saint-Denys' "Ethnographie des Peuples étrangers à la Chine," vol. ii., p. 232. Quite in the same way Moggallāna is reputed to have left traces of his residence in *Chang-ch'êng* (Cochin China). See Mayer's "Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean" in *China Review*, vol. iii., and vol. iv., p. 67. Apropos of Sāriputta's connection with the capital of *P'iao*, I think that the name of the latter, as recorded by the Chinese Buddhist travellers, Hwên Ts'ang among others, is to be read *Sāri-ksetra*, instead of *Srī-ksatra*, as hitherto proposed.

* January, 1898, pp. 149-154. All I may add here in support of my argument, that the Siāmese have long believed in a classic derivation of the term *Thai*, their self

which it would be waste of space to re-argue here. For the same reason I have to refer the reader to another publication of mine as regards the connection of Sukhothai and its original ruler with the *Sukhada* and *Sukhodaya* of the Purānas.*

Reverting, then, to the original argument anent the identification of Sukhothai with the *Sêng-ch'i* of the Chinese envoys, we find it stated in the chronicles of *Lamp'hūñ* that Sukhothai was like a chank-shell (*saṅkha*) in configuration, and that, seeing how remarkably this city and its kingdom were prospering, Lamp'hūñ was built in the same shape, and similarly named *Haribhuñjaya*, vulgarly corrupted into *Lamp'hūñ-ch'ai*, or simply *Lamp'hūñ*. This was in A.D. 527 according to some chronicles, and in A.D. 657 according to others.†

It will thus be seen how very likely it was that, from its shape, Sukhôthai might also be given, amongst several other names, that of *Saṅkha-pura* or *Saṅkha-nagara*—*i.e.*, "Chank[-shaped] City." Of course, this is a mere surmise, not directly corroborated so far by any of the local records I have had occasion to examine, but, taken together with the other circumstantial evidence adduced above, should tend to turn the balance of opinion in favour of Sukhôthai being the city visited by the early Chinese envoys rather than Swankhalôk. Naturally, after all, it does not matter much which of the two it was, both cities being in so close proximity, and so strictly related to each other as alternate capitals of the same State, as to preclude the possibility of a mistake on our part anent the kingdom with which the Chinese had their earliest intercourse in this region. A more precise determination of the city which was its capital is merely a matter of archæological speculation. Nor can it be expected that, because the suzerain of the State originally resided at Swankhalôk, this city was still the seat of government, several centuries later, when the Chinese embassy

assumed national epithet—from the name of their ancient capital city Sukhôthai, is a fresh bit of documentary evidence which I had overlooked when writing on "Shān and Siām." This comes from the famous Sukhothai inscription in Kambojan characters of *circa* A.D. 1365, now preserved within the precincts of the palace temple at Bāngkōk, a passage of which says: "The people of the realm are neither slaves nor bondmen: they are all free (*thai*) and happy (*sukhô*) withal, hence the country became known by the name of *Sukhôthai* [*i.e.*, the kingdom of the 'Happy Freemen' (or *Thai*)]." This important passage has been omitted in both the transliteration and translation which Père Schmitt gives of this epigraphic monument in the publications of the Mission Pavie, tome i., pp. 29 *et seq.* In the same inscription occurs the collective designation of the State as "Kingdom of *Srī Sajjanālaya Sukhodaya*." This also appears in the previous inscription of *circa* A.D. 1300—the oldest epigraphic monument in the Siāmese language as yet found, reproduced in the above-quoted work, pp. 10-26, and numbered I. in the plates.

* "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia," which is to be issued in the "Asiatic Studies" Series of the R.A.S.

† The year after that Princess *Cāma-devī*, the daughter of the King of *Lavô* (afterwards *Lop'hburī* or *Lava-pura*) was obtained in marriage for the Lamp'hūñ ruler, and from this union the dynasty that up to A.D. 1281 reigned over Lamp'hūñ—styled therefore the *Cāmadevī-vaṅsa*, or Cāmadevī Dynasty—is said to have sprung. A hint for Mr. E. H. Parker: this kingdom of *Lamp'hūñ* (and not Cambodia) is the *Nü-wang*, or "Female Prince" State, said by the Chinese annalists to have been bordering on the south upon the territory of the Nān-Chāu Confederation from the seventh century

arrived, for the kingdom appears to have been conquered towards the close of the fifth century by the King from Northern Siām who founded *Lavô* (apparently in A.D. 493), and the capital forthwith established at Sukhôthai, where it presumably remained until the middle of the eleventh century. It was then, as we shall see directly, transferred back to Swankhalôk.

In connection with the foundation of Lavô at the head of the delta in Southern Siām, there is a reference to some relics of Buddha which its founder brought thither from *Svāṅga-purī*, a town situated in the present district of Müang F'āng on the Nān River (not to be confounded with its namesake to the north of C'hieng-māi), and said to have been built in A.D. 457 by a certain Paṇḍitya (or Paṇḍita)-rājā. I have purposely drawn attention to this town of *Svāṅga-purī* in order to show how easily it might lay claim to identification with the *Sêng-ch'i* of the Chinese envoys, were other particulars wanting to establish the rights of Sukhôthai—and, in a less probable measure, of Swankhalôk—to such a distinction.

King Rùang's Correct Date.

Having thus disposed of the principal topographic difficulties besetting the present inquiry, it remains, before we enter definitely into the serial history of Siāmo-Chinese relations, to deal with the chief stumbling-block which Siāmese records exhibit at the outset in regard to this subject. As the extant memoirs touching that early period are but the *disjecta membra* of one or more quasi-historical works presumably lost at the time (A.D. 1767) of the destruction by the Burmāns of the former Siāmese capital Ayuthia (*Ayodhyā* or *Ayuddhyā*), indiscriminately gathered up, regardless of either order or dates, historical facts and traditions, or legend and fiction, into a most chaotic jumble termed the *P'hongsavadān Nüa*, or "Northern Annals [of Siam]," it becomes necessary to clear the ground, by some critical examination of the dates assigned to the relations with China mentioned therein, before we can examine these local narratives with those presented on the Chinese side. These dates all centre, for the early period, round that of the accession of King Rùang, under whose reign the first Siāmese intercourse with China took place, according to those records. King Rùang, officially known as *Aruṇa-rājādhirāj Rùang Chāu* or *Aruṇavatī Rùang*, is represented as having been born from the clandestine union of the Sukhôthai King *Abhayagāma-muni-rājā* (evidently a clerical error for *Abhayagamanī*) with a Nāga woman. His birth is variously assigned to 950 and 1150 Buddhist era (A.D. 407 and 607), and to 500 or 530 Śaka Era (A.D. 578 or 618); but, as we shall demonstrate directly, neither of these dates is reliable, and all are several centuries older than the correct one. When in his twenty-fifth year of age his father wedded him with the daughter of the King of Sajjanālaya (Swankhalôk), who had no male issue, and the fortunes of whose State and dynasty were declining. Thus Aruṇavatī Rùang became a vassal King at Swankhalôk; but on the death of his father the suzerain at Sukhôthai, instead of transferring his residence thither, he simply placed a relative of his in the ascendant line to govern it, and preferred to continue holding his Court at Swankhalôk, which he made the capital, his kingdom then embracing most

of Northern Siām, and extending as far west as Tōngū (Taung-oo) on the Sittang River. This celebrated monarch is credited with having, in his fiftieth year of age, abolished the use of the Buddhist era in his dominions, establishing in its stead the *Cūla* or *Culla-Śaka* (Small) era, henceforth employed, which began on Sunday, March 22, A.D. 638 (Julian reckoning). It is merely on the strength of this vague tradition that the birth-date of King Arunavatī Rùang is thrown back to the extent of several centuries, so as to make his fiftieth year of age coincide with the initial year of the era he is represented to have established. But while some MS. copies of the "Northern Annals" place this event in the year 1200 of the Buddhist era = A.D. 656-7, which would be correct if it were assumed that he merely adopted the new era from elsewhere, and sanctioned its employment in his States when nineteen years of it had already expired (*i.e.*, in March, A.D. 657), other copies of the Annals say that he cancelled the Buddhist era in its 1,000th year (*i.e.*, in A.D. 457), thus giving us reason to contend that either the era thus abolished was not the Buddhist, or that the newly-founded one could not be the Culla-Śaka, as this began nearly two centuries later. Neither of these contentions, however, seems tenable, as we shall demonstrate.

The Culla-Śaka Era and its Introduction into Siām.

The *Culla-Śaka* or *Śaka-rāja** era, although employed up to a quite recent period in Siām,† and still in use in the Lāu States and Kamboja, is but of comparatively modern introduction. Established according to tradition at Pagān (Bukām), the ancient capital of Burmā, by a Primate of the local Buddhist Church who gave up religious life for the throne, and passed in consequence to history under the vague designations of *Saṅgha-rājō*‡ and *Pubbajjārahaṁ*,§ whence it has also become known as the

* Also spelled *Sakka-rūja*, from a belief of its having been established by or at the suggestion and under the auspices of *Sakka, i.e.*, Indra. It is frequently designated by adepts the *Khachapañca* era, owing to the fact of its being reckoned from the 560th year expired of the *Saka Samvat*, *Mahā Saka*, or *Mahā Sakarūja* ("Great Saka") era, equivalent to A.D. 638. As usual with Indū astrologers, the figures 560 are expressed by means of mnemonic words written in the reverse order, thus: *kha*=0; *cha*=6; *pañca*=5. In the "Northern Annals" the copyists have made a mess of the above mnemonical formula, transcribing it at times *Pahampāyā*, and at others *Khahampāyā*, terms in which it is not easy to discover the vestiges of *Khacha pañca*. In fact, it took me a good deal of investigation ere I could hit upon the right meaning of that abracadabra, which every local scholar I had occasion to consult so far has declared undecipherable. It occurs in the "Northern Annals" in every instance connected with the adoption of the Culla-Saka era by some one or other of the Indo-Chinese potentates.

† It was superseded in 1889 by the *Ratna Kosindra Saka*, or "Bāngkōk era," which was made to date from 1782, the epoch of the foundation of the present reigning dynasty and of its capital on the eastern bank of the *Mè-nam Chāu P'hyā*, or Bāngkōk River. The Buddhist era is, however, still in use for religious and important State documents, in these latter it being employed in conjunction with the Bāngkōk era.

‡ "Patriarch," or "Chief of the congregation (*sangha*)," pronounced *Thenga-radzā* by the Burmese.

"Pagān" or "Pouppa-dzau era,"* the Culla-Śaka era did not cross the frontiers of the Pagān kingdom until the time of Anuruddha. It was this famous ruler and warrior who brought it along with him in his brilliant career of conquest through Pegu, part of Western and Southern Siām, the "Shān" (Thai) States of Northern Burmā, and Northern Lāos. Encouraged by his success in Pegu in A.D. 1057,† he shortly afterwards attacked Lavô in Southern Siām, retreating only after having obtained in marriage the sister of the King ruling there.‡ In the course of the following years he started on an expedition to Western Yünnan, and among the petty Thai States which he visited or made tributary was that of C'hīeng Sën on the Upper Më-Khōng, north of C'hīeng-Māi (Zimmé). The C'hīeng Sën Chronicles (Part II.) mention Anuruddha's visit to that territory, which gave him occasion to appoint a new King to rule over it, and to establish therein the Culla-Śaka era in substitution of the Mahā-Śaka, which had been hitherto in use among its people. The chiefs of all the neighbouring States were summoned to be present at the inauguration of the new style of reckoning, and all convened at the meeting adopted the new era except two—to wit, the rulers of Harībhuñja (Lamp'hūñ) and Sukhôthai.

It is perfectly clear from this passage from the C'hīeng Sën Chronicles that Sukhôthai had not so far become acquainted with the Culla-Śaka era,

* I may, however, call attention to the fact that the epoch of the Culla-Saka era is synchronous with that of the *Māgi-San*, till now current in the district of Chittagong. Although the years of the latter follow the solar reckoning of the *Bengali-San*, whereas those of the Culla-Saka are luni-solar, and the intercalation of months takes place on a different system from the one followed in the Indū luni-solar calendar, the synchronism of the epochs of the Māgi and Culla-Saka eras above alluded to is, I think, no faint indication that the Culla-Saka era was probably introduced into Burmā from either Chittagong or Lower Bengal, and did not at all originate at Pagān, as claimed by the Burmese. A thorough investigation of this point is, however, necessary ere we can definitely settle to which country—whether Bengal or Burmā—appertains the paternity of the Culla-Saka. As far as I can judge for the present, the odds seem to lie on the side of Bengal.

† This is the date given in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu, which state that Anuruddha attacked that country in the year 1600 of religion, and brought thence the Buddhist Scriptures and priests to Pagān in the following year—1601 of religion and 419 *Sakarāja* = A.D. 1057.

‡ So state with a wealth of details the "Northern Annals" of Siām. The *Ratana Bimbavamsa*, or "History of the Precious-stone Idol" (the so-called "Emerald Buddha"), and other records, mention how one of the ships sent by Anuruddha to Ceylon in quest of sacred books and relics, when returning from that island straggled on to Kamboja, thus leading to a rupture between Kamboja and Burmā. These events do not appear to have been recorded on the Burmese side, and yet they cannot be devoid of some historical foundation, since the contemporaneous inscriptions of *Campa* make distinct mentions of slaves—evidently prisoners of war—from *Pukam* (*i.e.*, *Bukam*, or Pagān), thus leading us to infer that hostilities must have taken place at that period between Burmā and Kamboja—as we know, from both Khmer and Chām epigraphic evidence, it occurred between Kamboja and *Campa*—in the course of which Burmese prisoners of war made by the Khmers passed into Chām hands. For further remarks anent this subject the reader is referred to my former paper in January, 1898, issue of this Review. I may here add, however, that the invasion of Lavô ascribed to Anuruddha was more probably the work of some one of his successors. This point will be discussed in due course. Like King Rùang for Siam, and Paduma-Suriyavamsa for Kamboja, Anuruddha is Burmā's national hero, and thus he is sometimes credited with exploits which partly belong to legend, and partly were instead performed by some of his predecessors or successors.

and that if it ever adopted the latter it must have been after the middle of the eleventh century. It follows, therefore, that if King Aruṇavatī Rùang's name is at all to remain associated with the establishment of the Culla-Śaka era in the State of Swankhalôk and Sukhothai, the date of his reign must be shifted forward accordingly. Reasons are not wanting in support of this argument, and principal among them is the following, which will for the present suffice for our purpose.

Lāu Invasion of Swankhalôk.

Shortly after King Aruṇavatī Rùang's death—which, by the way, happened in no less a mysterious way than that of his Western counterpart Romulus*—Swankhalôk was attacked by an army from Northern Lāos, which, the Siāmese chronicles say, was under the leadership of the King of C'hieng Sën. As, however, the chronicles of C'hieng Sën themselves make no mention whatever of any expedition against Swankhalôk—nor do those of either Lamp'hūñ, C'hieng Rāi, Müang Yōng, P'hra-Yāu (or P'hū-yāu), and other neighbouring petty States, which I had occasion to examine—we must assume that such an invasion must have come from some other quarter, which we propose to find out. It was in connection with this attack upon Swankhalôk that the second instance of Siāmese intercourse with China, mentioned in the local records, took place, the Swankhalôk King—said to have been a son of the late Aruṇavatī Rùang by the Princess whom this legendary hero had obtained from the Chinese Emperor—having applied thither for assistance. After some preliminary skirmishing on both sides, however, things were peacefully settled between the besiegers and besieged through the intervention of the chiefs of the Buddhist clergy; and the Lāu King withdrew upon obtaining the daughter of the Swankhalôk ruler in marriage.

Foundation of P'hisnulôk.

It appears, nevertheless, that the State of Swankhalôk, or part of it, must have become tributary, or, at any rate, was within the sphere of influence —if a very modern euphemism for a very old political manœuvre may be used—of the Lāu potentate; for this latter is represented as building within the territory of the invaded State the city of P'hiṣṇulôk (Viṣṇuloka), over which he placed the eldest of his sons (sprung from his union with

* That is, by disappearance into the *Keng Liang* rapids of the river, in front of his palace at Swankhalôk, where he went down to bathe—thereby returning, as the legend has it, to the realm of the Nāgas, whence he was descended from his mother's side. Owing to this incident and to the wonderful stories which are told of his exploits both in Siām and abroad, King Aruṇavatī Rùang became the legendary hero of Siām, just as Romulus did of Rome; and up to the present day a statue of his is preserved in an old chapel at ancient Swankhalôk, of which city it is considered the palladium—or, at least, one of the protective lares, as was that of Julius Cæsar in the Roman capitol. Floral offerings are made to it, and athletic games held in its honour on the fourth day of the fifth moon every year, which is the season when the Siāmese year commences. The crocodiles haunting the river within the precincts of the old city are held sacred to King Rùang, and therefore they are left unmolested. They are, however, reputed to be harmless to man, owing to the deterrent influence exercised upon them by the benignant

the daughter of the Swankhalôk King) to reign, sending the other to rule over Lop'hburī (Lavô) in Southern Siām.

At the same time the Lāu monarch had three famous bronze statues of Buddha cast in P'hiṣṇulôk, one of which is still to be seen in the principal temple there, the other two having been not long since transferred to Bāngkōk.* Now, the dates given for these events in the Northern Chronicles are fully three centuries later than the commencement of the Culla-Śaka era, at which it is pretended that King Arunavatī Rùang lived,† whereas the number of years that elapsed between the latter's reign and the building of P'hiṣṇulôk could not very well exceed half a century. It is therefore evident that some one or other of these dates is wrong—presumably more so the one ascribed to King Rùang's reign—and that the story of the foundation of the Culla-Śaka era by him is absurd. Nor is this all, for we are enabled by a fortunate circumstance to check the date of the building of P'hiṣṇulôk, and demonstrate, in a manner which I think decisive, that the latter also antecedes the correct one by a couple of centuries, and that, consequently, neither of the dates given for the events we have mentioned in the Northern Annals can be accepted.

In fact, the missionary Gervaise, a fairly good Siāmese scholar, and one of the best informed of his contemporaries on Siāmese subjects, states in his valuable book on Siam‡ that the founder of P'hiṣṇulôk was the *Chāu Müang Hāng* (or Prince of the Lāu State of Hāng), surnamed the "Black King," who built that city about 250 years before King Ū-thōng settled at Ayuthia. As Ayuthia did not become King Ū-thōng's capital until A.D. 1350, we obtain the approximate dates of A.D. 1100 for the foundation of P'hiṣṇulôk and the casting of the three famous statues of Buddha, and A.D. 1050 for King Arunavatī Rùang's reign. It is unfortunate that Father Gervaise did not supply us with more definite data. Probably he contemplated doing so in some more strictly historical work, which he never completed; but even as we have it, his information is, I think, reliable, as he had the opportunity of consulting chronicles and other records which have since been lost, and which we can hardly hope will ever be recovered. The question, of course, cannot be considered as settled until we can corroborate Father Gervaise's statement with evidence extracted directly from the Müang Hāng Chronicles—supposing that such exist, and I see no reason why they should not§—or from other authentic

* The statues called *P'hraḥ C'hinasī* (Jinasiri or Jinasīha) and *P'hraḥ Sāsdā* (Sāstri, Satthā) were brought down to Bāngkōk in A.D. 1831, and instated at Wat Pavaranives, where they may be seen up to this day; while the image termed *P'hraḥ C'hinarāt* (Jinarājā), the most famed of the triad because of its having to be recast with the supernatural intervention, the legend says, of Indra in the disguise of an artisan, still remains at P'hiṣṇulôk.

† The year 315 Culla-Saka, third month (January, 954 A.D.), is given for the foundation of P'hiṣṇulôk, 317 C. S. (A.D. 956) for the casting of the statues, and 319 C. S. (A.D. 957) for the recasting of the P'hraḥ C'hinarāt.

‡ "Histoire naturelle et politique du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1688, p. 47. The author resided four years in Siām, between 1681-85. He spells P'hiṣṇulôk, like most of his contemporaries, *Porselouc.*

§ Müang *Hāng*, or *Hāng*, called also *Müang Hāng Lüang—i.e.*, the Greater or Major

sources. In the meantime we may consider the datum he supplies us with as sufficiently approximate for our purpose.

King Rùang's Connection with the Culla Era.

Such being the facts of the case, it is evident that King Arunavatī Rùang could not be the founder of the Culla-Śaka era; all he did was either to cancel the Buddhist era in its 1,600th year (or A.D. 1056-57) instead of its 1,000th, as tradition would have it—a deed which strikes one as extraordinary in such a fervent Buddhist as this ruler is represented to have been—establishing the Mahā Śaka era in its stead; or else to cancel the latter in its 1,000th year (A.D. 1078-79), adopting in substitution the Culla-Śaka era. This second course would naturally not be expected to be taken by one who refused to comply with Anuruddha's request anent the same matter twenty years before that; but it may be that upon recognising the advantages of the new method of reckoning time upon the much more complicated and perhaps less accurate one which found favour up to that period in his dominions,* he overcame his antipathy for the Culla-

the banks of the Mè Hāng, on the Salwīn watershed, at about eighty miles north of C'hiēng-mai, and sixty miles west of C'hīeng Sen. The famous Siāmese King, Narēt (Naresvara), surnamed by the Portuguese the "Black Prince" (I hope Gervaise did not fall into some pit-hole here by confounding this Prince with the founder of P'hisṇulôk; but this seems hardly possible, on account of the very considerable difference in dates between the two personages), took it in A.D. 1605, and died almost immediately afterwards within its territory. Commenting upon this event, Khún Lúang Hāwat (the last King of Ayuthia but one) says in his "Memoirs," p. 20, that Müang Hāng was a very old foundation, dating from the epoch of King Dharmāsoka of Pāṭaliputra (*circa* B.C. 263-222); and that about a hundred Kings had reigned there by the time it was conquered by King Narēt. In another passage the same writer gives the name of the King who cast the three famous images of Buddha at P'hisṇulôk as Sudhamma-rājā. This fairly agrees with the somewhat fanciful one ascribed to the same personage in the Northern Chronicles, viz.. *Siri Dhammatripiṭaka*, on the score that he had caused a transcription of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka to be made in one of his previous existences! It will appear from these few references to Müang Hāng's history that a search made in the monasteries of that district (now forming part of British territory in the so-called "Shān States") with a view to discovering the old records of that principality—which must exist there in some form—may well repay the trouble, and enable us to set at rest the chronological question discussed above, besides putting us in possession of other very-much-needed information on the past of that and adjoining districts. The attention of British officials in Upper Burmā is therefore invited to this important matter in the particular interest of history.

* The advantages of the new method consist in the fixed position assigned to the intercalary month, which is obtained by a reduplication of the month of *Asaḍha* (or *Asalha*, in which the Buddhist Lent or *vassa* begins), and in referring the reckoning to a nearer epoch. Both these features concur in greatly simplifying calculations. It is worthy of remark that the length of the solar year adopted both in Siām and Burmā for the adjustment of the calendar is exactly the same (365 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36 seconds) as laid down in the original Sūrya Siddhānta, which is anterior to A.D. 500, and is known to have been in use in India till at least A.D. 665. While, however, in the Burmese calendar the lunar months are reckoned from *Caitra-sukla* 1—*i.e.*, from the new moon immediately preceding the *Mesa-sankranti*, or passage of the sun through the first point of Aries—in Siām they are numbered instead from the new moon of *Margasirsa*, which is termed the "first moon" (*Düen-Ai*), so that the beginning of the solar year falls after

Śaka era, and eventually adopted it by cutting off—as other potentates in both Siām and Kamboja are represented to have done at various periods

evidently the relic of an ancient usage—anterior to the adoption of the Culla-Saka era—according to which the year began with the new moon or first day of *Margasirsa-sudi*. Now, this is known to have been the case in several parts of Western and Northern India, especially in Sindh, Multān, Kanouj, Lahore, according to the testimony of both Alberuni (A.D. 1030) and Abu Rihān. It is, therefore, possible that the practice was introduced into Northern Siām from that quarter, in connection with either the Mālava (Vikrama-Samvat) or the Saka era. It must be noted, however, that the Lāu of Northern Siām reckon their months from *As'vina*, hence their first month, or *Düen-Chieng*, as they call it, corresponds to the eleventh Siāmese month (September-October), and New Year falls in their seventh month. Whether this mode of reckoning is due to some era having been formerly in use which began the year with As'vina, or to other causes, it is now difficult to say. In India there existed at least one era—to wit, that of Cedi or Kalachuri—in the western and central part of the country, in which the year commenced from *As'vina-sukla-pratipadā*, or the first day of the new moon of As'vina. No trace is to be found in either Siāmese or Lāu records as to any of the two eras just referred to, viz., the Vikrama and Kalachuri—ever having been employed in the country. Nevertheless, it is very likely that not only these, but also other Indian eras—as, for instance, the Gupta-Samvat, which found favour in Upper Burmā in the fifth century A.D.—may have been at different periods current in the various States into which Siām was divided of yore. This would partly account for the muddled condition of the chronology in local records. At the same time, the evidence to hand points to the Saka era having been the one which mostly obtained in both Siām and Kamboja from the earliest days. The oldest inscriptions in Kamboja (seventh century A.D.) are dated in the Saka era, and likewise are the earliest epigraphic monuments of Sukhothai in the Siāmese (Thai) language (fourteenth century), in spite of the alleged establishment there of the Culla-Saka era through the instrumentality of King Aruṇavatī Rùang. This circumstance shows that, if eventually adopted, the Culla-Saka era soon fell into disfavour in Sukhothai, the Mahā-Saka being reinstated in its stead. It appears that the Culla-Saka era did not again come into use until the capital was established at Ayuthia in A.D. 1350 by King U-thōng. This ruler being descended from the dynasty that formerly had its seat at C'hieng Rāi in Lāos—the region where the Culla-Saka era had been introduced and enforced by Anuruddha of Pagān in the eleventh century—we may reasonably infer that it was he who brought this era down to Southern Siām and instituted it there. Yet, of the laws that King U-thōng made, only one—that is, the *Kot Monthierabān*—is dated in the Culla-Saka (C. S. 722=A.D. 1360), while all the others are dated in the Buddhist era. This fact demonstrates that, although in use—mostly for ordinary purposes—from that period, the Culla-Saka era did not find its way into State documents until several centuries afterwards, and that very slowly. The first inscription in which we find it employed is dated C. S. 862=A.D. 1500, and this comes from C'hieng-māi (Lāos). In conclusion, we may take it as certain that the Culla-Saka era did not become popular in Central and Southern Siām until the Burmo-Peguan invasions of the second half of the sixteenth century, when the country remained for several years under the sway of the Burmese dynasty that reigned in Pegu. It was then that the Culla-Saka era must have definitely prevailed over the Mahā-Saka, and superseded it in all civil matters. These facts, even when coupled with the tradition of the early introduction of the Culla-Saka era into Siām at the initiative of King Aruṇavatī Rùang, are far from sufficient to impress a national character to this era. It appears, therefore, that it can lay no claim whatever towards being designated a Siāmese era, as it has often been. It is distinctly foreign in its origin, and should provisionally be termed the "Burmese era" until it be found whether this is not also a misnomer, and some different epithet, such as *Magi*, *Bengalese*, or other should be more properly applied to it. See our remarks anent this subject on a former page. So far, then, the *Ratna-Kosindra* or Bāngkōk era is the only one which may be accepted as genuinely Siāmese. The fact of its having been established fully 107 years after the epoch [illegible]

—560 years from the current Mahā-Śaka date, in accordance with the *Khachapañca* formula previously explained.

It will be observed that by viewing King Arunavatī Rùang's interference with eras in this light the number of years of the old era that had elapsed when he abolished it, given in most copies of the Northern Annals and other records as 1000, will be found correct, if they be taken as Mahā-Śaka instead of Buddhist era years, as evidently it is wrongly stated in those works.* There is yet another point which might be mentioned in favour of the same view. Arunavatī Rùang was, according to all accounts, fifty years old when the new era was established, he having been born in the year of the Dragon (*Marông*). Given, then, as we have just assumed, that he abolished the Mahā-Śaka era in its thousandth year—that is, in A.D. 1078-79—the date of his birth would fall in the year 1028-29, which bears the cyclical sign of the Dragon. He died—always according to most accounts—at a rather advanced age in the year of the Rat. This may be, when reckoned after the same standard, either A.D. 1084 or A.D. 1096, which both fall under that denomination. At this rate his journey to China, said to have taken place immediately after he had changed the era, might be put down as A.D. 1079; the siege of Swankhalôk and the despatch of the second Siāmese mission to China as A.D. 1097; and the foundation of P'hiṣnulôk as between A.D. 1115 and A.D. 1120.

Should we instead reckon these events on the assumption of the Buddhist era having been abolished by King Arunavatī Rùang in its 1,600th year (A.D. 1057-58), we would then have to shorten by twenty years the date of his embassy to China, making it A.D. 1059, and by twelve years the dates of his death and of the successive events above alluded to. This would not matter much when it is considered that prior to the present inquiry we were at a loss as to which of the six centuries comprised between the fifth

are not always founded in their initial year, and this should serve us as a guide in dealing with such vague traditions as that of the establishment of the Culla-Saka era by King Aruṇavatī Rùang in A.D. 638 as its epochal point.

* It appears to have been a widespread custom among Oriental nations, especially in India and adjoining countries, to abolish eras in their thousandth year, starting to count the years afresh for the period next following. This may be inferred from the following remark which General Alexander Cunningham made in his "Book of the Indian Eras" (p. 84, 1883 edition): "I have read somewhere that in A.H. 992, when the Hijra millenary began to draw towards its close, and Akbar was meditating the establishment of the Ilâhi era, one of his courtiers stated openly that the eras even of the greatest Kings did not last beyond 1,000 years. In proof of this he cited the extinction of some Hindu era, which was abolished at the end of 1,000 years."

As regards Siām and the Culla-Saka era in particular, we learn from the Chronicles of Ayuthia (vol. i., p. 271 *et seq.*) that in A.D. 1638, when the millennium of that era approached completion, the King then reigning in Siām (Prāsād Thōng by name) had a great festival held, in the course of which he proceeded with much ceremony to cancel the era, substituting to the duodenary cyclical sign of the Tiger belonging to that year—which he feared might portend calamities for the ensuing period—the less ominous sign of the Hog, so as to make the new year of the era (C. S. 1001 = A.D. 1639) begin under the sign of the Rat, the first in the series of the twelve-year cycle. By this means he hoped to cause the new millenary period to commence auspiciously. But his reform fell through during the succeeding reigns, and the old style of cyclical nomenclature was established

and the eleventh to assign those events to, whereas now we are able to localize them within the limits of the eleventh century, or very nearly so, without fear of being very far wrong; and we may consequently easily overlook the small difference of a score or a dozen years, more or less, between the two sets of dates.

So much was necessary to make clear in order to justify the dates—however approximate—which we assign to the embassies of King Rùang and his successor. Although designedly shirking from entering into technicalities—as a far greater amount of space would then have been required—we could not refrain from tackling the subject critically, and trying to arrive at some logical conclusion as to the date at which the Culla-Śaka era was introduced into Siām and the causes that led to its spread and adoption in nearly all the countries of Indo-China, since it is upon such an event that the chronology of the earliest Siāmo-Chinese relations mentioned in Siāmese records is based.

Authorities and Methods followed.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now turn to the accounts of those relations which have been preserved on both sides, taking them in chronological order, supplementing and commenting upon them as fully as is compatible with the sources of information lying at our disposal, and the original materials which we have been enabled to collect as bearing upon the subject. First in point of antiquity comes the Chinese account of *Ch'ih-t'u*, and of its earliest intercourse with the Celestial Empire, compiled from various sources by Ma Tuan-lin, who gives it a place in his well-known and highly-esteemed cyclopædia called the "Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao." The ethnographic portion of this standard work appeared translated into French some seventeen years ago by the Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denys, whose version we follow, consulting at the same time the translation which Mr. De Rosny has made of a parallel account from a treatise of historical geography termed the "Tung-hsi Yang-k'ao," and printed in his "Les Peuples Orientaux connus des anciens Chinois" (second edition, Paris, 1886, pp. 198-212). While reproducing the Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denys' version translated into English, with the variants I have met with in De Rosny's, I have thought it necessary to supply a full and entirely new commentary of my own, as almost no attempt is made by either of those learned translators at identifying the numerous place-names occurring in the Chinese text, and supplying illustrative notes on passages bearing on the history, ethnography, customs, and beliefs of the country and people described in that account. I have thought it likewise expedient to transcribe all Chinese proper names and other words, for which the original characters have been given in M. d'H. de St. Denys' version, according to the Pekingese pronunciation, in compliance with the method now generally followed, instead of allowing them to stand in the style of transcription adopted by the translator. The same remarks apply to other extracts on matters bearing upon the subject of the present inquiry which I have made from St. Denys' work or culled from other publications. The source for such is invariably acknowledged at the proper time and place. Likewise

I have taken care to indicate—whenever it was possible—the authority for the passages and other chips of information which I have obtained from native records and other original works in the languages of both Siām and neighbouring countries. For the translation of such I am alone responsible, as well as for the comments I have appended.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST RELATIONS WITH SUKHOTHAI.

A.—*CH'IH-T'U KUO* (THE KINGDOM OF *SUKHADA*) IN A.D. 607.*

THE inhabitants of *Ch'ih-tu* [*Shaku-to, Sukhada*] are of the same race as those of *Fu-nan.*† It takes over a hundred days' sailing across the Southern Sea [in order] to reach their country. At the spot where their capital is built the soil is extremely red; hence the name of *Ch'ih-t'u* given to the country.

EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES.

The kingdom borders on the east the State of *Po-lo-la*;‡ on the west

* From Hervey de Saint-Denys' "Ethnographie des Peuples étrangers à la Chine," par Ma Tuan-lin, vol. ii., "Méridionaux," pp. 466-475. This account is in the main a compilation from the *Sui-shu*, or chronicles of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-618), being evidently based upon the information obtained by the Chinese envoys who visited Sukhothai in A.D. 607. It exhibits, therefore, a picture of the state of Siām at that period, and thus possesses so great a historical importance for us as not to admit of being curtailed in any of its parts.

† *Fu-nan, i.e.*, Kamboja. I have elsewhere identified this much-discussed name with the Khmer term *P'hanom* or *P'hnom*, so often occurring in names of towns, such as *P'hnom-p'hēñ*, etc.; and I have located the early capital of *Fu-nan* at *Ba-P'hnom.* (See my "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia" in a coming publication in the R.A.S. series of "Asiatic Studies.") The race of *Fu-nan* is, of course, the Mōñ-Khmer race, which then occupied the whole of Southern Indo-China, extending in Siām as far north as Kamp'hēng-p'het and Raheng (Tāk), whither it had been driven back from the banks of the Upper Mé-Khong at C'hīeng-sen by the Thai during the preceding centuries.

‡ Pronounced with some differences in the various dialects: *Pu-lo-la, Bu-lu-la. P'a-ra-la* or *P'a-na-la* (Korean), *Ha-ra-la* (Japanese), *Ba-la-lat* (Annamese), The local equivalent should be something like *Purala, Barala, Bahnar.* But as the transcription is probably faulty or maimed, I have little hesitation in identifying this place with Ptolemy's *Bareukora* or *Bareuathra* (Barikan on the Me-Khōng, long. 103° 39′ E.. lat. 18° 34′ N.), which occupied a position E.N.E. of Sukhothai. In this case the correct Chinese rendering should be *Po-lo*-[kou]-*la*, or *Po-li*-[ka]-*la.* De Rosny, "Peuples Orientaux," p. 199, has *Po-lo-lah.* He thinks this State was the same as *Po-li-lo-chah*, which is mentioned as sending, together with *Lin-i* (Campā), ambassadors to China under the T'ang period, *Chêng-kuan* (A.D. 627-650). He holds that *Po-lo-chah* is a shortened form of *Po-li-lo-chah*, and makes it one with Ma Tuan-lin's *Po-lo-so*, located to the west of *Ch'ih-t'u* (p. 221). This is very doubtful. *Po-lo-chah*, or *Po-li-lo-chah*, may be a collective term resulting from the union of *P'o-li* (Perak, Bali, Brunei?) and *Lo-ch'a* (Pahang?), as the kingdom of *Lo-ch'a* is located to the east of *P'o-li* (Ma Tuan-lin, p. 489), and is said to trade on the coast of *Lin-i.* There appears, therefore, to exist no connection whatever between *Po-lo-ch'a* or *P'o-li-lo-ch'a* and the *Po-lo-la* referred to above as being situated on the eastern frontier of *Ch'ih-t'u.*

it is conterminous with that of *Po-lo-so*;* southwards lies the kingdom of *Kou-lo-tan*;† northwards it is bounded by the great sea. Its frontiers extend over a tract of several thousand *li*.

King's Name and Descent.

The King's family name is *Ch'ü-t'an* [Gotama];‡ its personal name is *Li-fu-to-sai*.§ It is not known how far back into antiquity the ancestry of this ruler can be traced.‖ We are simply told that his father, having relinquished the crown in order to enter into the religious orders,¶ had

* *Po-lo-so*, *P'a-ra-sa*, *P'a-na-sa*, *Ba-la-twa*. Most evidently *Plaksa*, *Palaksa*, *Balaksa*, or *Praksa*, which I have demonstrated to have been the name borne at one time by the whole or part of Burmā (*op. cit.*, p. 39), still referred to as *Balassia* by Barbosa (in Ramusio's "Navigationi," vol. i., f. 321, 1563 edit.). The *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* (quoted in *China Review*, vol. xiii., p. 384) spells the initial syllable 婆 (*P'o=ba*) instead of 波 (*Po*, sometimes also used as an equivalent for the Sanskrit *ba*, *ba* and *Bra*), as in Ma Tuan-lin's edition, followed by Hervey de Saint-Denys.

† *Kau-lo-tan*, *Keu-lo-tan*, *Ku-ra-tan* (Kor.), *Kō-ra-tan* (Jap.), *K'u-la-dan* (Ann.). The Chinese text is evidently at fault in placing *Hou-lo-tan* to the south and the sea to the north of *Ch-ih-t'u*. The reverse should be the case. Hence De Rosny's suggestion that *Kou-lo-tan* may be Kalantan in the Malay Peninsula appears untenable. No more plausible would be any attempt at identifying *Kou-lo-tan* or *Kō-ra-tan* with Khorāt, on the double ground of topographical and historical incompatibility, as Khorāt did not then exist under this, its present name. Assuming then that *Kou-lo-tan*, *Kuladan*, or *Kradan*, as its local pronunciation may be, is to be looked for to the north of Sukhothai, it is not an easy matter to say which is the place it designates. The only approaching toponymic I know of in that position is that of *Khelanga* or *Khelanga-nagara*, now Nakhōn Lampāng, founded about twenty years after Lamp'hūñ, *i.e.*, in *circa* A.D. 550, according to the most reliable accounts. *Sakratam* was the name of the ruler of part of Northern Siām (Müang Tāk district) who founded Lavô in about A.D. 493. His capital is classically styled Takkasilā-mahā-nagara in the Northern Chronicles, but has always been known to the vulgar as Müang Tāk. In its halcyon days it may have been distinguished as *Nagar Tak* or *Nagor Tak*. It is therefore possible that *Kou-lo-tan* may represent, if not *Sakratam* himself, at least the capital of his State, *Nagor Tak*. The transition from *Tak* to *Tan* in Chinese transcription is not only quite possible, but is exemplified in the title of P'hyā Tāk, which is always rendered in Chinese books as *P'hya Tan*. Hence *Nagor Tak* = *Nagor Tan* = [*Na*]-*kou-lo-tan*. Of course I give this identification as merely conjectural in default of anything better.

‡ Kings bearing the name of *Gotama* appear referred to in the chronicles of a later period both in Siām and Kamboja. Examples: *Gotama-devaraja*, *Gotama-raja*, etc. The fact of a ruler of Siām bearing the name of *Gotama* at the early epoch treated here may be taken as positive evidence as to Buddhism being honoured in the land. This evidence will receive ample confirmation in the sequel of the narrative.

§ *Lei* / *Lai* } *-fu-to-* { *sêk* / *ts'oi* (Cantonese); *Li-fu-to-* { *set* / *t'sai* (Hakka); *Ni-pu-ta sek* (Kor.); *Ri-fu-ta-soku* (Jap.); *Loi* / *Li* } *-fu-ta-* { *tak* / *tai* (Ann). This is a very puzzling name, and looks like an imperfect transcription. It may stand for anything from *Revadasi* to *Sariputta* if its last syllable be removed and prefixed to it. It may also be a corrupt rendering of *Ripunjaya* (under the form *Riputjaya*), a name connected, as we have seen, with Sukhothai. All the proper names occurring in this narrative should be examined by some competent person in the original Chinese texts, and all their variants carefully noted, if something like accuracy in their interpretation is to be attained.

‖ This phrase, remarks De Rosny (p. 199, note) presents considerable difficulties in its interpretation.

¶ Evidently the Buddhist orders, as evidenced from the fact that he renounced the crown. This has been a frequent practice with [illegible]

transferred to him the regal power which he held for sixteen years [in A.D. 607; *i.e.*, from A.D. 591]. This King *Li-fu-to-sai* has three wives, two of whom were Princesses from the neighbouring States.*

Description of the Capital.

He resides in *Sêng-ch'i* [or *Sêng-ch'i-ch'êng*],† a city surrounded by a triple enceinte of walls, with gates pierced into them at about 100 paces apart from each other.‡ Each of the gateways is ornamented with wreaths of chased golden bells; *Bodhisattvas* and painted immortals [*Devas*] poised in the air.§ The adjoining spaces have been filled in with [representations of] several scores of females, elegantly decked, some playing sweet melodies, and others holding golden flowers in their hands. Four other female figures [or statues], coiffed and dressed like *Chin-kang-li-shih* [*Vajrapāni*], such as are to be seen by the sides of Buddhist spires, are also represented both on the inside and outside of the principal gates.‖ Those on the outside are equipped in warlike style, while those on the inside hold in their hands whisks of white *Cāmara* hairs.¶ On the lateral

* De Rosny, p. 200, has: "filles de princes des états voisins."

† Probably *Sankha-pura*, or *Sankha-nagara*, *i.e.*, Sukhothai, and not *Sajjanalaya*, or *Sagga-loka* (*Svarga-loka*, Swankhalôk), as we have remarked in the Introduction.

‡ De Rosny translates: "Il y a de triple portes, séparées l'une de l'autre par une distance d'environ cent pas" (p. 200). It is essential to know whether we are to understand "triple walls" or "triple gates," or both, as it makes a great difference. Sukhothai had a triple enceinte of walls; Swankhalôk had a single one.

§ De Rosny, *ibid.*: "Sur chacune de ces portes, on a peint des images d'immortels ailés, d'hommes immortels [*hsien-jên*], et de *bodhisattvas*. On les a décorées de fleurons d'or. Dix femmes, parées de petites cloches et d'écrans de plumes, y font de la musique ou offrent des fleurs." These representations have remained in favour up to this day, and may be seen about the gates and precincts of Buddhist temples in Siām, especially at Bāngkōk. It is simply a question of *Devas*, to wit: Indra, Brahma, and other celestials, offering flowers or playing on musical instruments, and otherwise doing honour to Buddha either in his perfect state or in his as yet probatory condition of *Bodhisattva*. Owing to some of the Devas being depicted with quasi-womanlike features, they have been taken for females by the Chinese envoys. The *Devas* offering flowers are probably the well-known images called by the Siāmese *Thep'h-pranom*, who hold flowers between the palms of their hands joined in respectful attitude at the height of the breast.

‖ These, again, are not females, but male *Yaksas* armed with clubs, such as are usually placed at the entrance of gates in order to guard the passage. De Rosny makes the four female figures quite distinct from those of the *Yaksas*, which seems very unlikely. He translates: "On y a en outre représenté quatre femmes aux figures ornées comme des bouddhas (?). Sur les côtés de la porte principale, on voit des représentations de guerriers athlétiques (*vajrapani*, 'guerriers armés de massue de diamant'). Ceux qui sont du côté extérieur du portique (*kiah nien*) sont armés en guerre; ceux qui sont du côté intérieur tiennent en main des écrans (?) blancs." He then follows with a diagram, in order to illustrate his idea of the *kia-mên*, or portico, and the position of the figures. It goes without saying that such an idea is completely wrong as far as Siāmese gateways are concerned. These are generally roofed passages with a kind of open portico or veranda attached internally, and sometimes on both sides, which often continues along the walls. The Yaksa figures are placed laterally at both ends of the passage—that is, immediately outside of the porch. In this respect Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation is far clearer and to the point.

¶ The translator has "des chasse-mouches de crin blanc (symbole d'immortalité)," and De Rosny "des écrans blancs." I have added the term *Camara*, as these whisks

walls of the gateway are suspended light nets, on which flowers have been symmetrically arranged so as to form handsome decorations.*

The Royal Palace.

The palace buildings are simply one-storied. All the gates [of the palace walls] are disposed on the same line facing the north.

The Throne Hall.

The throne, erected upon a three-storied daïs, is likewise turned towards the north.† The King appears thereupon dressed in a magenta-coloured robe.‡ His head-dress is profusely ornamented with golden flowers and with jewelled pendants.§ Four young damsels stand by his side. His

were evidently made out of the tail of the *Camara* or Yak ox (*Bos Grunniens*), like those used nowadays at the Siāmese Court, and reckoned among the insignia of royalty.

* De Rosny has "des filets blancs émaillés de fleurs." Here it is probably question of hangings or imitation lace curtains made of fresh flowers (double jasmines, etc.) strung up together, a kind of decoration for which Siāmese are famous, and which may be seen in use up to this day.

† De Rosny: "Toutes les maisons du palais du roi ont un étage et leur porte du côté du Nord. En face du Nord est placé le trône formé d'un triple divan" (p. 201). The throne halls in Siām, whether at Bāngkōk, Ayuthia, or Sukhothai, are, or were, all turned towards the north, and so is, or was, the throne upon which the King sits or sat facing towards the same quarter. Likewise in every place where the King tarries to give audience or to take a short rest, whether in a roofed building or in the open, the royal chair is always disposed so as to face the north. This custom had its origin in the fact that the north is regarded among the nations of India and Indo-China as the most auspicious point of the compass, and that towards which the ground rises, culminating in the Meru mountain. Next to the north in order of auspiciousness comes the east. Siāmese sleep with their heads either to the north or to the east, but preferably to the north; therefore their houses are as a rule, whenever practicable, turned so as to present their long sides to the north and south respectively. On the southern side is the front entrance and veranda, or open terrace, while along the northern the couches are ranged at right angles to the wall. On the Sukhothai inscription of the fourteenth century, preserved within the precincts of the royal temple at Bāngkōk, north and south are designated respectively with the epithets *hua nōn* and *tīn-nōn*, *i.e.*, literally *head* and *foot* of the couch. *Nua* and *tài*, the Siāmese terms for north and south, mean, respectively, "above" and "below," the former corresponding to the Sanskrit and Pāli *uttara* (upper, higher, northern, above), and thus furnishing the proof that also in the Indū minds the northern quarter is considered to be elevated above the others. The preference is, however, among Indūs given to the east, which is considered to be the quarter of the gods, while the north is regarded as the "quarter of men." [See Satapatha-brāhmana, Eggeling's translation, vol. ii., pp. 3, 4, where the following direction as to how to sleep is also given: "One should not sleep with his head towards the west, lest he should sleep stretching (his legs) towards the gods."]

‡ De Rosny (p. 201): "Les vêtements du roi sont en étoffe aurore." Red, the sun-colour, is up to this day the regal colour in Siām, and the gates of the city and palace, as well as the timber-work of the roof of royal buildings, were up to a recent period always painted red. La Loubère says: "C'est un usage général, à Siam, que le Roi et tous ceux qui le suivent à la guerre ou à la chasse, sont vétus de rouge."

§ De Rosny, *ibid.*: "de son bonnet, orné de fleurs d'or, pendent des colliers (?) façonnnés avec toutes sortes de bijoux de prix." "Colliers" is evidently incorrect, for what is meant here are the pendants or ear-flaps hanging on both sides as protections for the ears. This style of head-dress, which may be seen represented in the sculptures of the ancient monuments of Kamboja, is of Indū origin, and is still retained [illegible]

body-guard exceeds 100 men in number. Behind the throne there is a sort of large niche made of five kinds of scented wood incrusted with both gold and silver,* and in the background of it there hangs a disc of golden rays in the shape of a flame.† On each side of the throne platform are fixed two metallic mirrors; in front of each is placed a golden vessel, and in the front of each vessel a golden scent-burner.‡ Right below the front of the throne platform there is a golden representation of a bull sheltered by a canopy ornamented with magnificent fans.§ Several hundreds of Brāhmans are sitting in two rows, each facing the other, both on the right and left-hand side of the throne, and attend the royal audience.

Government Officials.

The high dignitaries charged with the joint administration of the State include a Prime Minister with the title of *Sa-t'o-chia-lo*,‖ two functionaries

features in the present royal crown of Siām, and in the head-dresses worn by *lakhōn* (nautch) actors in Siāmese theatricals.

* This is what is called a *puspaka*-niche; in Siāmese, *busŭbok*.

† "Un disque à rayons d'or en forme de flamme"; thus the translator. It is obvious that if shaped like a flame it can no longer be a disc. Of course, one easily understands that what is meant is one of those flame-shaped nimbi such as encircle and surmount the head of Buddha in native works of art. In a note (12, p. 468) the translator remarks, in fact: "Placé derrière la tête du souverain, ce disque [*sic*] lui formait une auréole [read *nimbus*] pareille à celle que l'on donne aux images de Bouddha. Le P. Kirscher [read *Kircher*] nous montre ce genre d'auréole [read *nimbus*] dans une représentation de l'Empereur du Mogol (*China illustrata, Amstelodami*, 1667; planche en regard de la page 78). On verra plus loin que le même usage existait au *Tchin-la*." In fact, at p. 478 of the same work, under the chapter devoted to *Tchin-la* (*Chĕn-la*=Kamboja) we see it stated that behind the throne is suspended, as at *Ch'ih-t'u*, "un disque [*sic*] à rayons d'or en forme de flammes." De Rosny has (p. 202): "Au fond, se trouve une flamme d'or suspendue sur le divan." This custom, which was evidently followed at all the courts of India and Indo-China, is no longer in force in Siām and Kamboja. The *Svetachattra*, or white state canopy (of nine tiers, and conical in shape), is now alone suspended above the throne, and no *rasmi* or nimbus appears in the background.

‡ What have here been taken for "metallic mirrors" are most probably the lenticular taper-holders used in the *arati*, or light-waving rite, which was to be performed upon the Sovereign whenever he appeared in public. They were probably stuck upright, like at present, into bowls filled with husked rice. The vessels placed in front of them were probably *bai srī* trays, containing offerings of food such as are used in connection with the *arati* rite. For details anent this rite and the implements used in connection with it I must refer the reader to pp. 69-72 and 159-161 of my book on the "*Cūlakantamaṅgala*, or the Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siām," Bāngkōk, 1893.

§ It is here question of a representation of Siva's sacred bull *Nandi*, called *Usup'haraj* (*Usabharaja, or Vrsabharaja, i.e.*, "the King of Bulls") in Siāmese. Although Buddhism was in great honour, Brāhmanism, and more especially Sivaism, still maintained their hold in the country, and continue to do so—though in a less marked measure—up to the present day. A live white bull, styled the *P'hra: Khô Usubharaj* (*Vara Go Usabharaja, i.e.*, "the sacred Bull King"), was kept and fed in the royal stables at the old capital Ayuthia, and ceremonies were annually held in its honour, as prescribed in the *Kŏṭ Monthiérabal* or "Palatine Law" of A.D. 1368 ("Laws of Siām," vol. ii., p. 133). This practice was discontinued after the capital had been removed to Bāngkōk during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

‖ Cant. and Hakka, *Sat-t'o-ka-lo*; Kor., *Sal-t'a-ka-ra*; Jap., *Satsz-da-ka-ra*; Ann., *Tat-da-gia-la*. A Sanskrit or Pāli word is evidently implied here, but which it is it does not clearly appear. *Chattahara* (for *Chattadhara* [?]), *Satthahara*, and *Sraddhahara* are

bearing the title of *T'o-na-ta*,* and three assistants termed the *Chia-li-mi-chia*.† The repression of crime is particularly entrusted to a high magistrate styled the *Chü-lo-mo-ti*.‡ Finally, each town is placed under the authority of two principal officials designated, respectively, the *Na-hsie-chia* [*Nāyaka(?)*]§ and the *Po-ti* [*Pati*].‖

* Cant. and H., *T'o-* { *na-tat* / *la-t'at* }; Kor., *T'a-na-tat;* Jap., *Da-na-* { *tatsz* / *dachi* }; Ann., *Tat-na-dat.* Some such word as *Dhanadatta* or *Dhanyadatta* seems to be implied. De Rosny (p. 202, *op. cit.*) has *To-no-tah-chai*, and remarks that Ma Tuan-lin (Bibliothèque Nationale edition) wrongly spells this name *To-na-tah-yeou.* In the event of the reading *To-no-tah-chai* proving correct, the official meant may be the *Thanonch'ai* (*Dhanañjaya*), one of the prominent dignitaries of the State both in ancient Siām and Kamboja, mentioned in the Khmer inscriptions and in the Northern Annals of Siām. He held office as a second Minister. *Thanadar*, *Thanadhar*, and *Danadhar*, also are possible interpretations.

† Cant., *Ka-* { *lei* / *lai* } *-mêt-ka;* H., *Ka-li-mit-ka;* K., *Ka-ni-mil-ka;* Jap., *Ka-ri-mitsz-ka;* Ann., *Gia-li-mêt-gia.* Presumably *Karmika* or *Kammika* is intended; but I am inclined to identify this term with *Kramakara*, in Siāmese *Kromakar* (pron. *Kromakarn*). The *Kromakars* are now the officials who assist the Governor in the administration of the *Miiang* (province, district, or township); but in the old days the same epithet may well have had a higher application, and may have designated the assistant Ministers (or Under-Secretaries) of State.

‡ C., *K'ou-lo-mut-tai;* H., *Ki-lo-mat-ti;* K., *Ku-ra-mal-che;* J., *Ku-ra-* { *batsz* / *muchi* } *-te;* Ann., *Ku-la-mat-de.* Possibly a defective rendering of *Yokkrabat* or *Yukkrabat* (*Yuktapaktra*), an old term still employed to designate the third chief of either a department or a province, but which may have had a different signification in the old days. *Kalamatya* (*Kala-amatya*) may also be suggested as a title allusive to *Kala* (Yama) in his character of Indian Minos (*Dharma-raja*, "king of justice").

§ C. *Na* / *No* *-se-ka;* H., *La* / *Lo* *-sia-ka;* K., *Na-* { *sa* / *sia* / *ya* } *-ka;* J., *Na-* { *sha* / *dja* / *ya* } *-ka;* *A.*, *Na-* { *ta* / *ja* } *-gia.* In the *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* (see *China Review*, vol. xiv., p. 44) the initial syllable is spelt 𠀋 [*chīu* (?). I cannot make out this character, as I do not find it entered in Giles's Dictionary; but the local Chinamen from Hainan read it *jīu*, rising tone], instead of 𠯿 (*na*, *no*) as in Saint Denys' Ma Tuan-lin. This circumstance makes it doubtful whether the Sanskrit-Pāli term *Nayaka* is meant, although it is difficult to suggest any other satisfactory interpretation. There existed, indeed, up to a quite recent period in Siām a high official bearing the title of *Samūha-nayaka;* but this personage was the Minister for the civil department, and the chief of the administration of the northern division of the kingdom, and not a mere provincial Governor like the *Na-hsie-chia* of our text. It is possible, nevertheless, that long before the day when the officials of the

‖ C., *Put-tai;* H., *Pat-ti;* A., *Bat-de.* Evidently the word implied is *pati*, meaning (in Sanskrit and Pāli) "chief, ruler," which here stands in the sense of "chief of a village," "village headman," or "chief of a section of the township (or district)," and thus corresponds to the modern Indū *Paṭīl* ("lord of one village," anciently *Paṭṭakīla*, *Patalika*, *Gramakūṭa*, *Gramapati*, etc.). Though apparently no longer used alone in the above sense in India, but generally prefixed by some other term connotating the office—as in *Grihapati*, "head of a household," *Visayapati*, "governor of a district," *Rasṭrapati*, "lord of a province or region," etc.—there is evidence to show that this word *pati* by itself must have, in the old days, denoted merely a village chief or headman. In fact, in Java, where a similar administrative organization to Siām appears to have prevailed, it being likewise introduced thither from India, we find the

Dress.

The people of *Ch'ih-t'u* pierce their ears and crop their hair short.*

kingdom were divided into the two classes of civil and military, and the post of *Samūha-Nayaka* was instituted—an event which happened, according to the "Annals of Ayuthia," p. 28, in A.D. 1434—it is possible, I repeat, that the title of *Nayaka* was given to the Governors of the provinces. In the chapter devoted by Ma Tuan-lin to *P'an-p'an* (a petty State occupying the south-western part of Siām, and extending for some distance down the Malay Peninsula) occurs the statement that the provinces of that region were governed by officials bearing the title of *No-yen*. This term, I presume, represents the Southern-Indian word *Nair* (originally *Nayar*), a well-known designation for the ruling class of Malabar, and is probably connected with the titles of *Naik* (=*Nayaka*=chief, lord [?]), *Naib*, or *Naib-suba* (district governor under the Mogul domination in India), etc., which we find likewise in use in the southern part of the Indian peninsula. These designations were undoubtedly imported from a very early period by the Indū emigrants who settled in the southern part of Indo-China; and still survive, both in the Mōn (Peguan) and Siāmese *Nai* (นาย, *nâi*), meaning "lord, chief, master." It is not unlikely, therefore, that they were at the outset employed thither to denote the "chief" or "lord" of the district or township, because there is evidence as to their having held in the past a much higher signification than at present, being then almost equivalent to, if not synonymous with, "prince," whereas nowadays they are employed, both by the Siāmese and Mōn, simply in the sense of "owner, chief, headman, bondmaster." The Venetian traveller Gasparo Balbi, who was in Pegu in A.D. 1585, mentions two of the sons of the then reigning King as *Naidù* and *Naimor*, making it evident that *Nai* was a mere prefix then denoting a "prince" (*Nai*) ["Viaggio dell'Indie Orientali," Venetia, MDXC., p. 120]. In Siām the princes are still termed *Chau Nai*, a compound of the indigenous Thai word *Chau*="lord, master," and of the Indū-imported term *Nai*, *Naib*, *Nayar*, *Naik*, or *Nayaka*, noticed above. This is the only instance known to me in which the term *Nai* still retains its older high signification in the Siāmese language. The now obsolete title of *Samūha Nayaka* designated the "lord" or "chief of the aggregation [of civilians]." Previous to its coming into use, *Nayaka*—or simply *Naik*, *Nayar*—must have meant "lord, prince, chief," and it is therefore pretty certain that it was used as a title for the district governors, who were practically kinglets within their own jurisdiction, much like the barons *et hoc genus omne* of our old feudal system. Hence, I think, the origin of the double form of transcription *Na-hsie-chia* and *No-yen* (*Nayaka* and *Nayar*) in order to designate the same class of officials in the two states of *Ch'ih-t'u* and *P'an-p'an*, which, from the fact of their being situated in close proximity to each other, and within the territory of the same region—the ancient domain of the Mōn-Khmer race—must have had in common both language and institutions.

and Chinese history tells us that in A.D. 1436 the Javanese envoy, who had been sent on a mission to China, "had been advanced from *pati* to *ale* [*adhi*, *adhipati*] rank." (See *China Review*, vol. xxiii., p. 257.) Moreover, the Portuguese historians of the sixteenth century record the names of various Javanese chiefs—*e.g.*, *Pati-Samora*, *Pati-Quiter*,

* The same customs prevailed in Pegu and Kamboja, being introduced thither from India. The ears were pierced for ear-rings from early infancy, and this practice constituted one of the propitiatory rites or *samskaras* in ancient Indo-China, as I have shown in my book on the *Cūlākantamangala*, or Tonsure Ceremony, already quoted, p. 2. The Thai and other peoples in Northern Siām wore flowing hair, and were required to cut it off when entering the dominions of the Mōn-Khmer race which ruled in the southern part of the country. For this purpose hair-cropping sheds had been established at the border stations of the southern kingdoms. The ruins of one of these sheds are still

They do not pay obeisance by genuflexion.* They rub scented ointments over the body. Buddhism is more devoutly practised in their country than anywhere else.† The Brāhman women gather up their hair in a knot behind the head. Males and females indiscriminately wear garments of any colour, whether red, blue, or otherwise. Wealthy people bedeck themselves as sumptuously as they like; gold chains are the only sort of ornaments forbidden to be worn, unless they have been presented by the King.‡

Pati-Unuz, etc.—who attacked Malacca in A.D. 1511-13, and who were evidently village chiefs or subordinate officials of a district. The Malay term *Batin* is probably a derivation of the early-imported *Pati*. In so far as Siām (*Ch'ih-t'u*) is concerned, De Rosny (*loc. cit.*) has "six *Poh-ti*" for each town (or township). The *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* (see *China Review*, vol. xiv., p. 44) states that as many as "eighteen *Po'ti*" were appointed for each city. In view of these figures, it is plain that the officials so termed must correspond to the modern Siāmese *Amp'ho* [*Ambò*, *cf.* Manchu 𐿢𐿪𐿲 *amban*=governor] and *Kamman* [from *Kan*=to protect, to look after, to govern], who are placed at the head of a section of the town, of a group of villages, or of a simple hamlet. The memory of the term *Pati*, employed in this sense, has now been lost in Siām; but, thanks to the narrative of the Chinese envoys who visited this country in A.D. 607-8, we have it revived.

* De Rosny translates: "On n'a pas l'habitude de se prosterner en s'agenouillant." It is thus difficult to make out which was the form of obeisance or salutation adopted. The text is probably corrupt, as we are told in another passage from the same author that in *Chên-la* (Kamboja) both prostration and genuflexion were practised.

† This statement is very explicit, and agrees not only with local tradition but also with a considerable amount of fragmentary evidence which I have collected from inscriptions and other sources. I shall revert to this subject in due course.

‡ The gold chains referred to here are evidently the kind of ornament called *sangwān*, consisting, as explained in my book on the Tonsure Ceremony quoted above (p. 46), of "a triple gold chain strung with alternate lozenge-shaped and round medallions, . . . a modern substitute for the traditional Brāhmanical thread," which is, "like the latter, thrown over the left shoulder and passed underneath the right arm, as a badge of high descent." The wearing of the *sangwān* is forbidden to the vulgar—except on the occasion of special religious or domestic ceremonies—up to the present day, along with a number of other ornaments, such as golden anklets, golden fig-leaves (for female children), golden "pepper-corns" (or ovoidal pendants shaped like the berry of *Piper longum* tied by a string round the waist of male children), etc. A decree dated May, 1800, and numbered 20th in the collection of the old laws of Siām (vol. ii., pp. 74-76) calls attention to the frequent infringements of the ancient custom regarding such ornaments committed by persons not entitled by their rank to wear them, and enjoins upon the parties concerned the scrupulous observance of that custom, forbidding at the same time to the goldsmiths the manufacture and sale of the golden ornaments referred to, under the threat of severe penalties. It is quite possible that this custom—like many others to which we designedly call attention in the course of the present notes—already existed in Siām at the early period we are concerned with, as the passage of the Chinese narrative commented upon here would lead us to conjecture. Although the present Siāmese belong—as we have repeatedly shown—to a different race from the early occupants of the country, it must be remembered that they have adopted and inherited many a custom, belief and practice from their predecessors, which still survive in a more or less modified form up to this day. Hence the reason why we so often differ in instituting comparisons between the practices obtaining among the modern Siāmese and those referred to in the Chinese narrative, notwithstanding the fact that the two peoples whose practices form the subject of such comparisons be racially different and otherwise apparently unconnected. In connection with the subject of the ornaments forbidden to the people to wear, it is curious to notice that a very similar [illegible]

Marriage Customs.

For marriages an auspicious day is designated in advance.* The five days preceding the appointed date are spent in rejoicings and drinking.† On the sixth the father of the bride places the latter's hand into that of the bridegroom,‡ and on the seventh day the marriage is consummated.§ The wedding ceremony over, everybody departs, and the married couple withdraw to live apart, unless the bridegroom's father be still living, in which case the pair go and dwell with him.‖

Funeral Ceremonies.

Those who are bereft of their father, mother, or brothers, shave the head and dress in white garments as a sign of mourning.¶ A bamboo structure being erected over the water [the river or creek], it is filled with pieces of wood, and the body deposited therein. Flags are then hoisted aloft,

century, as evidenced by the sumptuary laws established by the ruler of that State, Sultan Mohammed Shah, between 1276 and 1332, translated by Mr. A. Marre in his brochure on "Malâka" (Paris, 1874), from which I extract the following short passages (pp. 22, 23): "Il n'était pas permis de porter ni des bracelets ni des *kris* avec des ornements. It était interdit d'avoir des anneaux d'or aux pieds, et même des anneaux creux, en or, avec fermoirs d'argent. Nul vêtement pouvait être porté, s'il était enrichi d'or, sans la permission du Roi ; ceux à qui cette faveur avait été une fois accordée pouvaient le porter toujours."

* Such is also the present practice.

† De Rosny (p. 204): "À festoyer et à boire du vin." For "vin," read "fermented liquor." The feast is nowadays held at the bride's house, on the evening of the wedding-day.

‡ De Rosny (*ibid.*): "Le père conduit par la main sa fille au futur époux." The bride is also nowadays escorted to the new house which the bridegroom has had erected. The bride is not, however, accompanied thither by her father or mother, but by the elderly persons deputed by her family to arrange all preliminaries for the marriage.

§ It does not now take more than two days to go through the wedding ceremonies proper, but several days may elapse ere the bride is escorted to the bridegroom's new house, an auspicious date having to be awaited for this final ceremony.

‖ De Rosny (*loc. cit.*) says somewhat differently: "Puis on partage la fortune, et les nouveaux mariés vont demeurer dans leur maison particulière. Il n'y a que les enfants qui habitent avec leur père." This version is almost in perfect agreement with what takes place nowadays. "On partage la fortune" evidently refers to the verification or counting of the *thun* (capital to start with in life) devoted to each member of the young couple by the respective parents. The spreading out and counting of the money thus supplied on each side takes place at the new house on the forenoon of the day of marriage. Both sums are then mixed up together and delivered for temporary keeping to the parents of the bride. "Leur maison particulière" implies, of course, the *hō*, or nuptial-house, built specially for the young couple by the bridegroom himself or his parents; whence we see that the custom of having such a building erected was then already in force. The next phrase, as to the "enfants" dwelling with their father, is not clear. It may be added that the same nuptial ceremonies as referred to above are observed also in Kamboja, they having been originally introduced from India.

¶ This is still the custom up to the present day. Subsequent to the funeral of Queen Sômanat, in 1852, however, the modern variant was introduced by the Court (which has been since followed by the gentry and people), that only the younger relatives of the deceased shave the head and dress in white garments, as of yore, while the elder relatives simply [illegible] to the European custom, and do not shave the head

perfumes burnt, chank-shells blown, and drums beaten, while fire is applied to the pyre, and the flames are left to do their work. Ultimately everything falls and disappears in the water.* This method is invariably followed, and no distinction exists between the obsequies of a high functionary and those of the vulgar. For the King alone care is taken to carry out the cremation in such a manner that his ashes and charred bones can be collected afterwards. These are enclosed in a golden receptacle which is enshrined in a funeral monument.†

Climate and Productions.

Whether in winter or summer, there reigns a constant heat.‡ Heavy showers of rain unceasingly fall; fine weather is seldom to be seen.§ Sowing has no fixed season.‖ The soil is favourable for raising crops of rice, millet, white beans, and teel-seed.¶ The other productions of the country are the same as in *Chiao-chih* [Tonkin].

The people of *Ch'ih-t'u* manufacture a wine very agreeable to the taste

* Funeral pyres have not been for a long time past erected over the water, and I hardly think that such has ever been the case, except perhaps at periods when the country is flooded; but the ground of the temples where cremation ceremonies are usually performed is, as a rule, high enough to escape the annual inundation. On the other hand, the ashes remaining after the burning are, after the bones of the dead have been dutifully collected and urned, consigned to the water, in pursuance of the old Indū custom. This is, perhaps, what misled the Chinese envoys into saying that the funeral structure was built over the water.

† This is perfectly true up to this day. An imposing structure called a *Meru* (pronounced *Mēn*), because of its symbolizing the Meru Mountain of Indū cosmology, is erected for the funeral obsequies of royalty. A spire was in the old days usually raised to cover the spot where the funeral pile stood (in pursuance, again, of an old Indū custom). Into this monument part of the bones gathered after the cremation of the deceased were enshrined, the remaining portion being put into a golden urn (jewelled or not, according to the rank of the departed), which was henceforth kept in the royal columbaria, to be honoured at the appointed seasons and on extraordinary occasions, such as, for instance, at the funerals of royal personages who would subsequently pass away in their turn.

‡ The translator has: "Hiver comme en été, il règne une humidité constante," and explains in a note (p. 470) that the word for "heat" has been in a later edition of the Chinese text substituted for the term for "dampness" appearing in the older editions, and that therefore he feels inclined to follow the older version. De Rosny has (pp. 204, 205): "Hiver comme en été, il fait toujours chaud," and appends a note to the effect that, "suivant une autre version: 'il fait toujours humide.'" I have followed the version adopted by him, as it seems to me in better agreement with the actual climatic conditions of the place. There is, in fact, a dry season as well as a rainy season, while the heat may be said to make itself felt all over the year, at least during the day-time.

§ This is not actually the case, and the Chinese envoys are therefore in the wrong for the nonce. De Rosny has, however, the more temperate statement that "les pluies sont fréquentes, et rarement le ciel est sans nuages."

‖ It has, however, as far as rice is concerned, the season for the working of the paddy-fields being annually inaugurated by a Ploughing Festival, the auspicious date for which is determined beforehand by the royal astrologers.

¶ Millet does not now appear to be anything like as plentiful as of yore. On the contrary, the output of the other articles of produce enumerated in the text is considerable. Tilseed, called *nga-dam* in Siāmese, is exported in quantities varying from 1,200 to 1,500

out of sugar-cane and the root of a gourd called *tsz-kwa*.* The colour of this wine is yellow, with a nuance of red; the flavour is perfumed.† The cocoanut-palm also supplies them with a kind of wine.‡

* Here, again, the Chinese authors are nodding; but their mistake arises from a misunderstanding of the native term here referred to. *Tsz-kwa*, which might be taken to mean "dark-red gourd," or "purple brinjal" in Chinese, is evidently a mere phonetic rendering of the name by which a certain plant or tree was designated in Siām. In connection with wine-making from the juice of the sugar-cane and other saccharine liquids obtained from the fruits, flowers and stems of various trees, the root (and bark) of either the *Maklŭa* (*Diospyros mollis*) or the *Takhīen* (*Hopea*) trees are employed—steeped into the liquid with an admixture of other ingredients—in order to induce fermentation. No root of any gourd, brinjal, or similar plant, is ever used for this purpose. Now, the Mōn name for the *Maklŭa* tree is *tsu-krak* (ꯏꯢ꯭ꯀ꯭ꯔꯛ), and that for the *Takhīen* tree is *tsu-kueh* (ꯏꯢꯀꯩꯁ꯭ꯍ), *tsu* or *ch'u* being the term for "tree." It is evident that the Chinese *tsz-kwa* is meant not for the root of any gourd, brinjal, or cucumber whatever, but for that of the *tsu-kueh*, or Hopea-tree, whose name appears to be its nearest phonetic equivalent in the language of the country at the period now under consideration. In modern Khmer the *Maklŭa* and *Takhīen* trees are known, respectively, as *dŏm-klŭa* and *dŏm-kaki*, terms which appear to be but corrupted forms of the older Mōn-Khmer designations, modified through the influence of Siāmese domination over Kamboja. It is quite plain that the Chinese travellers merely took down the native term for the Hopea-tree without troubling themselves to inquire about the nature of the plant it designated. Finding as nearly a perfect phonetic coincidence as could be wished for between the two words that compose it and the Chinese vocables for, respectively, "purple, dark red, or brown," and "gourd, brinjal, melon, cucumber," they felt quite satisfied at the discovery, and wrote down 紫瓜 (*tsz-kwa*), adding—and here is where their oversight, supineness, or designed trickery makes itself manifest—the explanation that a gourd was implied thereby, just as if things were called by identical names in the languages of China and Siām. Of course, among the present Siāmese (Thai), *kwa* means a cucumber, being one of the many Chinese-derived words which compose the Thai language; but we know that, at the period treated of in the Chinese narrative, the Thai language could not be spoken at Sukhothai, because the Thai race had not as yet settled there; and we are aware besides that no gourd, cucumber, or other vegetable is employed in connection with the manufacture of either sugar-cane or palm wine. It is only in the brewing of rice-beer—the drink termed *Khoung* in Burmā, and *Làu-uh* in Siām—that the root of the brinjal and other varieties of *Solanum* finds employment; but then it merely enters, among other ingredients, in the preparation of the wort designed to induce the fermentation of the parboiled rice or rice-flour which is to be mixed with it. In Kamboja the Rade use, according to Moura ("Le Royaume de Cambodge," p. 427), an aromatic, farinaceous tubercule, known to them under the name of *Anhau-kua*, in the preparation of the wort; but this is, no doubt, but one of the many ingredients required for that purpose. It is, besides, difficult to admit that the Chinese envoys confused, by mistake, sugar-cane wine with rice-beer, and the only plausible conclusion thus seems to be the one arrived at above.

† De Rosny (p. 205) translates: "La couleur de leur vin est jaune et rouge; le goût en est parfumé et agréable," adding a note to the effect that "suivant le *Fang-yu-ching-lan* 'parmi les vins fabriqués par les Barbares, celui de Siam est le plus parfait.'"

‡ De Rosny (*loc. cit.*) is altogether at sea in translating: "On fait également du vin avec le lait de la noix de coco," an interpretation which Hervey de Saint-Denys (p. 471, note 22, *op. cit.*) finds "très-plausible." It is quite notorious to any resident in the East Indies that the juice or toddy which is to be transformed into wine by a process of fermentation is obtained, not from the nuts or fruits, but from the wounded spathes of the cocoa-nut and other kinds of palms, such as the Talipot (Palmyra), the Attap (*Nipa fructicans*), etc. It is not drawn from the latter-named exclusively, as some authorities

almost sneers at Linschoten for saying that palm-wine in Tenasserim "is made of Cocus or Indian Nuttes," and with self-assumed authority gravely corrects him with the remark, "Not the cocoa-nut, but *Nipa fructicans*, as is well known." On another page (27), apropos of the famous wine mentioned by the Chinese as being made from a tree at *Tun-sun* (on the Malay Peninsula), he again puts in his bigoted opinion that "this was doubtless the liquor made from *Nipa fructicans*." The mode of obtaining the sweet sap consists in first squeezing and bruising the embryo blossoms of the palm-tree (whether *Nipa*, cocoa-nut, or Palmyra), and then slicing off a little of the ends of the bruised parts, which answers for tapping the tree. The flower-spike is next bent downwards, for the purpose of causing the sap to flow from its extremity into a little bucket made of a joint of bamboo which is suspended under it. A single spathe thus prepared and tapped may be kept flowing more than a month by simply cutting occasionally a thin bit from the end of the spike. The output is but slight the first and second day, but on and after the third day from a pint to a quart may be caught in one night. Every morning the sap is collected, and a new bamboo bucket substituted to receive a further supply. This process of collecting toddy is most graphically described by Marco Polo in his account of the kingdom of *Samara* (Samalanga, on north coast of Sumatra) as follows: "Egli hanno alberi, che tagliano gli rami e quelli gocciolano, e quella acqua che ne cade è vino; ed empiesene tra di e notte un gran coppo che sta appiccato al troncone, ed é molto buono. L' albero è fatto come piccoli alberi di datteri," etc. Nowadays in Siām most of the sap is concentrated by evaporation, and transformed into jaggery or palm-sugar. The sugar obtained from the sap of the Attap-palm is not quite so good as that made of the sap of the Palmyra and cocoa-nut palms, having a slight saltish taste, which, however, an unpractised palate can scarcely detect. Some of the toddy is nevertheless drunk when newly drawn, while another portion is usually fermented and transformed into the intoxicating beverage known as palm-wine (in Siāmese, *Nam-tan-mau*). As seen above, on the authority of Chinese travellers, this sort of wine manufactured in Siām was reputed to be the most perfect. As regards that made in the Tenasserim district, Linschoten and Texeira speak in very high terms of its excellence. There is no doubt that the industry of both sugar and wine-making from palm-toddy was extensively carried on in Northern Siām in the early days, perhaps on a larger scale than at present. Within the precincts of ancient Sukhothai talipot-palms are even now plentiful, and may be seen rearing their tufted heads everywhere amongst the ruins. The inhabitants of the adjoining hamlets exploit the trees very keenly for the sap. Cocoanut-trees were no doubt also plentiful at one time. The production of jaggery, at least, was yet considerable two centuries ago, as evidenced by the report on the trade of Siām written in A.D. 1678 (see Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 424), in which occurs the statement: "Jaggarah is made in great abundance att Purseloock [P'hisṇulôk], Campem [Kamp'heng-p'het], and Succotai [Sukhôthai], very considerable quantityes being yearely transported to Japan, and some to Malacca."

As regards wine made from the fermented juice of the sugar-cane in Siam and Kamboja, Mr. E. H. Parker remarks (*China Review*, October-November, 1899, p. 103) that sugar seems to have been first heard of by China about the fifth century. Three centuries later Abu-zaid states that the use of *nabid* (palm-wine) was discontinued in the kingdom of *Komar*, or Western Kamboja. See Reinaud, "Relation des Voyages," etc., t. i., p. 97.

(*To be continued.*)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of this Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, June 29, at four o'clock, the Right Hon. the Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., occuping the chair, when a paper was read by R. Maconachie, Esq., late I.C.S., Punjab, on "The Desirability of a Definite Recognition of the Religious Element in Government Education in India."*

The following among others were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.; Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I.; Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.; Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A.; Hon. Madan Gopal; Hon. Frederick Verney; Rev. George Hanson, D.D.; Rev. G. B. Durrant; Mr. R. N. Cust, LL.D.; Kumar Shree Harbonjee; Mr. M. Sirajuddin Ahmed; Mrs. and Miss Arathoon; Mrs. F. Aublet; Mr. Alan Cadell; Mr. Cavendish; Mr. A. K. Connell; Miss Cooper; Mr. W. Coldstream; Mr. J. S. Dyason; Miss Gawthrop; Mr. B. B. Joshi; Mr. R. N. Kabraji; Mr. C. G. Master; Mrs. Macnaghten; Mr. Alay Mahomed; Mr. J. B. Pennington and Miss Pennington; Mr. F. Loraine Petre; Mr. S. S. Thorburn; Mr. N. B. Wagle; Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. secretary.

After the reading of the paper

DR. CUST said that he much regretted being obliged to entirely oppose the proposition contained in the paper. From fifty years' experience of India he thought it would be very unwise to change the present system. He belonged to the school of which Lord Lawrence was the representative, whose view was to let the people alone in anything affecting their religion, but in every possible way to encourage missionaries in their private capacity. There was no wish to live godless lives; but as public officials they felt it their duty to keep entirely clear of the question. They had gone as far as possible in making large annual grants to the missionaries, and in shutting their eyes to the fact that while teaching the young people, they were trying to take them away from their hereditary religions; and, with regard to teaching morals, a circular had been issued by the Education Department, that a high degree of morality should be part of the lessons. Moreover, the respectable Hindoos and Mahomedans had a conception of morals very much the same as prevailed in this country. The effect of what was proposed would be, not to inculcate the doctrines of Christianity, but to make the people of India largely Unitarians and atheists. With reference to the expression, "godless colleges," he might say that a copy of the Bible was placed in the hands of every student on leaving the college. They had gone as far as they dare go in India, and anything further would be dangerous, and he would urge that things should be left alone for at least another twenty-five or fifty years.

MR. A. K. CONNELL inquired in reference to the philosophy curriculum in the Indian Universities, what were the great text-books taken up and recommended to students.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT agreed with Dr. Cust in the view that more could be done in the matter of inculcating religious truth among the natives in the schools. He did not understand that Mr. Maconachie desired that any direct religious instruction of any dogmatic or denominational kind should be given, but general doctrines as to the power and love of the Deity, and that the moral doctrines taught to English children should be taught to the children in India. He desired to point out that there was nothing to prevent that which Mr. Maconachie wished being done at the present time, and similar lectures being given to those which had been referred to by Dr. Chester Macnaghten; and to his personal knowledge other teachers in Calcutta, Allahabad, and other places, had proceeded on the same lines. With reference to Mr. Maconachie's suggestion as to teaching dogmatically the belief in God's existence, in practice it would be found that a certain portion of the curriculum could not be laid aside, and that during that period only the doctrines of God's love and Divine government of the world should be taught. The subject would very soon be exhausted, and they would soon get into critical and dangerous grounds as to the conduct of the government of the world by God, and the keen logical mind of the native boy would very soon lead his teacher away into discussion of opposing views. What was wanted was that the intructors in Indian schools should be so imbued with those doctrines as to impart them to the boys, and as a general rule he thought they had been very successful in the gradual training of the teachers under the education which the Indian Government itself offered. Then Mr. Maconachie had not referred to the monumental report on education prepared by the Commission, of which Sir William Hunter was the President, under Lord Dufferin's Government, which discussed this very question at great length, and brought out the conclusion that these views should underlie the teaching of every teacher, and not of themselves be made the subject of teaching. As showing that the Government of India had attended to this subject, he might mention the moral text-book, which though ridiculed at the time it was brought out by the Government of Bengal was a meritorious and useful production tending to create in the boys' minds types of high character and honourable conduct in public life, and of bravery, honesty, and chivalry. He desired to say that it was not the case, as mentioned in the paper, in Bengal at any rate, that the works of literature given to the boys for study were mutilated so as to contain nothing to interfere with the religious prejudices of Hindoo or Mahomedan. With reference to the inquiry made by Mr. Connell, the philosophical works were laid down from year to year by the University, but he had always thought that they did not give enough modern literature, though there was a great deal of eighteenth-century literature. He had listened to the paper with a great deal of sympathy, but he trusted Mr. Maconachie would accept the view that what he aimed at was being done, at any rate in the best colleges, and by the best teachers, and in perhaps the only way in which it could be done in the present relations between the Government of India and the people.

the question. He highly appreciated the anxiety expressed by the lecturer for giving higher moral tone to the educated Indians, but when it came to enforcing religious teaching in Government colleges and institutions, there were immense difficulties which deserved their serious consideration. The first question that confronted them was as to what religion should be thus introduced into the Indian colleges. In this country, where there was one prevailing religion, it was easy to introduce religious instruction, because there were no other conflicting religions in the whole of the country; but in India, which was a country of religions, there were various sects which materially differed one from another, and under such circumstances it was difficult to give preference to one over half a dozen others which should equally deserve their attention and study. It seemed that the lecturer, when he insisted on religious education in schools, openly meant to adopt Christianity, but that in his opinion seemed highly impracticable and objectionable at present. It was quite absurd to suppose that India would at any time adopt Christianity as a national religion—he meant Christianity in the form in which the missionaries have hitherto tried to introduce it in that country; and he would express regret that the missionary movements were now looked at by the people with a degree of suspicion and fear. Change of religion was not the same in India and in England. An average Indian, in his opinion, was more religious than his Western neighbour. The latter could change his faith without any corresponding change in his social and other surroundings, while it was the most difficult thing for an Indian to change his religion, for he was thereby torn away mercilessly from his dearest and nearest relations and friends—parents, sisters, brothers, and all. In fact, he was considered dead and gone, his funeral took place, his people went in mourning for him. In short, to convert one man to Christianity was to throw half a dozen or more families in utter grief, despair, and desolation, and he should not therefore sympathise with any religion that worked such horrible results on the social structure of any nation or community. The advocates of the Christian religion, therefore, would do well to turn their attention towards the mitigation of these evils before they were impatiently eager to force their religion on the people by getting it introduced in schools and colleges by Government sanction. Looking at that side of the question and the consequent misery of the parents and relatives, he should certainly agree with the suggestion of one of the speakers that they should wait for another twenty-five years before they change the policy of neutrality of religion in Government schools and colleges. Then, again, the term "religious education" was a very wide one. There was the internal and moral, as well as the external and theological, part of religious education. He would certainly encourage the introduction of moral education, which is the foundation and groundwork of all good religions, into the schools and colleges; and he would go one step further, and say that that sort of education, though not given in Government colleges directly through text-books, was given most effectively by the personal example and influence of the professors and by the philosophical books that were read in the colleges. He

and he could say that the moral lessons he had received from his professors were sufficient to give him as clear and pure a moral conscience as anybody who had been taught in a missionary college or even in any English university. Speaking of the Bombay University, they had to study authors like Butler, Martineau, Aristotle, Kant, Paley, Bacon, etc. Again, speaking of Christianity, students were given the option at the M.A. examination of answering two papers, either the ancient and modern philosophy or the internal and external evidences of Christianity. He thought that was sufficient introduction at present into the universities of Christian religious education. He must certainly contradict the proposition put forward by Mr. Maconachie with regard to the difference in the moral tone of the students of Government College and the missionary ones. He remarked that India was advancing in all ways under British rule, and those who watched the religious activity of the country would find that the religious life of India was not extinct, new doctrines were laid, new forms were started, and the greatest advocates of different religious movements were, at least the majority of them, from Government colleges, and not missionary ones. The future religion of India, as prophesied by Professor Max Muller, must be some form of Christianity, and all over the country a new sort of religion, which was a compromise between Hinduism and Christianity, had been started by educated people, namely, the sect of the Brahmasumaj, which was started by Keshub Chunder Sen, and now kept up by equally distinguished people. The life and soul of such religious movements were always men belonging to Government colleges, where, according to Mr. Maconachie, religious education was not given at all. Speaking of the presentation of the Bible, he said he had had the honour of being presented with a copy on passing his B.A. examination by the society to which Dr. Cust had referred, and he had no hesitation in saying that he made a good use of it, and had had great pleasure in thinking over the subject-matter of the great work. He should be glad if any of his countrymen embraced Christianity for the simple reason of their being convinced of the truth of it. He himself could see that Christianity was as good a religion as his own Hinduism; a good Hindu was, in his opinion, a good Christian, and *vice versâ*. The essence of both religions were similar, and the action and effect the same. But people in this country have a very hazy notion of Indian religions, and so they put everything they could not account for in any other way down to the Indian religion. For example, Mr. Maconachie had treated Suttee as part of the Hindu religion, but he must say that it was as much a part of Hindu religion as wearing a black coat was that of Christianity. He was at a loss to understand how English education would destroy Hinduism as alleged by Dr. Maconachie. He maintained that English education, instead of destroying Hinduism, purifies it. The best feature of English education is criticism, and he unhesitatingly confessed that the English methods of education had given them keen critical power. It gave them the power of discriminating the good from the bad, and they could thus separate the chaff from the grain, throw away all that part of Hinduism which does not suit the present, and accept the purer Hinduism, the spirit of which was [illegible]

as that of Christianity. There was a simile in the Upanishads which was that all religions were like small rivulets flowing till they joined one big river before they fall into the sea. If at any time it will be considered necessary to introduce religious education in Government colleges and schools, it should be to bring home to every student the truth of this idea, namely, whichever form of religion one belonged to, the spirit, the essence, the foundation of all religions in the world is just the same, namely, to be moral and good. (Applause.)

SIR ROLAND K. WILSON said it appeared to him that the paper and the subsequent speeches amounted very much to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of State education. On the one hand, the lecturer could point to a large body of opinion on his side when he insisted that the results of the present system were unsatisfactory from a moral point of view. But on the other hand, the remedy suggested, that of requiring the educational authorities to teach officially the existence of a personal God, had evoked strong and weighty protests. The contrast between Mr. Maconachie's view, that English secular education must destroy, with that of Mr. Wagle, that it tended to purify, Hinduism, went to show that there was no common ground of principle on which a great State organization could found systematic teaching. The remedy he would suggest was that education should be left entirely to those who were inspired with the missionary spirit. It used to be a commonplace with Liberals that the State had nothing to do except to ascertain and protect the rights of individuals. It was plainer in India than in England that the Government was the embodiment of force, and depended for its justification on the existence of evils for which force was the only remedy. Its resources were taxed to the utmost by a very imperfect performance of its proper work of making laws and enforcing them. Why not leave the spiritual work to which force was altogether inappropriate to the spiritual agencies which, in India, were not likely to fail? If all financial exactions intended for the support of education were gradually remitted, the public would rise to fill the gap, and they would have, perhaps, not so many persons educated to read and speak English, but a larger number trained spiritually by individuals and societies to whom that task would be a labour of love.*

* I should like to add a word or two with reference to a remark which fell afterwards from the Chairman. I can well believe that many, perhaps most, of the natives who have themselves been educated in Government colleges are in favour of maintaining and augmenting State expenditure on higher education. This has been evidenced, now and again, by resolutions of the Indian National Congress, a body in which this class may be supposed to have a preponderant influence; and it is only what ordinary experience of human nature would lead one to expect. On most matters their pronouncements deserve most respectful attention, for they bring to the consideration of Indian problems more enlightened minds than the bulk of their countrymen, and more sympathetic insight than the British press and bureaucracy. But on this particular subject the class bias is too obvious. State aid to university and middle-school instruction is a tribute levied on the trader, the artisan, and the rayat for the benefit of the literary, professional and official classes, and we know only too well in this country how hard it is for a class so situated to avoid confusing the public good with its own privileges. Nevertheless, the most recent Congress resolutions seem to foreshadow a change of attitude in the near future.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN desired to point out what appeared to him to be one or two weaknesses in the premises of the syllogism put before them by Mr. Maconachie. In the first place he would like to express his agreement with the opinions expressed by Mr. Wagle, who had with great precision shown what was the Hindu point of view. When Mr. Wagle said that people not very conversant with the deeper side of Indian life imagined every form of religious belief to be Hinduism, he had stated a great truth, and he was also correct in saying that the effect of English teaching in India was not infidelity, but the purification of Hinduism. (Hear, hear.) Those who carefully followed the religious life of India of to-day would understand that there was a great religious fire and enthusiasm arising among educated Hindus in the direction of a purer life and a simpler faith. The founders of this great movement possessed a creed with an ethical basis as ennobling and purifying as Christianity itself. He referred to men like Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, and Keshub Chunder Sen. Infidelity was not the result of English teaching. Scientific training no doubt destroyed belief in puerilities—absurdities which had attached themselves, not as part of the religion, but as part of the cloak of religion to Hinduism, which in its best and purest form was not dogmatic at all. The Hinduism of to-day, popularly known as Brahminism, was absolutely tolerant in its character, and accepted a million gods or one with equal complacency. Polytheism, and indeed Pantheism, was to a certain extent affected, no doubt, by the teaching of English literature and science; but these in no way affected the Brahminical or the sacerdotal force of Hinduism. They rather stimulated the devotion of earnest and educated Hindus to the esoteric teaching of their creed, which was a high and pure monotheism, and was to-day far more attracting thoughtful and cultured men than it had ever done before. He thought they might safely leave the question to the Hindus and their own great teachers, of whom there had been some as worthy of respect as any prophet who had arisen in other countries. Let them leave in the hands of the Hindu teachers the gradual withdrawal of the masses from the superstitions which the more cultured among them condemned and rejected, and the reform which all wished to see would be gradually effected in the religion of India. (Applause.)

MR. S. S. THORBURN said that listening to Mr. Maconachie's paper he realized how the missionary spirit which burnt within him had been tempered by the cold prudence of a constructive Deputy Commissioner, and he marvelled at what he might almost term the unchristian moderation of Mr. Maconachie's concrete proposal, which was to remedy what he deplored as the result of the existing system of secular education by intro-

to meddle less with the higher branches of education; the other strikes, though perhaps unconsciously, at the very root of the system by pointing to a political difficulty even graver than the religious one now under discussion. I refer to the demand that managers and teachers of State-aided institutions shall be free to take part in political movements, a demand which can neither be refused without grave injury to the cause of political progress, nor conceded without risk of considerable embarrassment to the Government. But to develop this thought would carry me far beyond the limits of a footnote. D. K. W.

ducing the dogmatic teaching of theism. He disagreed with that proposal; dogma was the weapon of a bigot. It was a lamentable fact that education acted as a solvent of belief and induced atheism. Where not only theism but Christianity was taught, the educated product was agnostic, as had been found by those devoted missionaries, the members of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi. If a Christian Government taught divinity in its classes, certainly in the Punjab it would be regarded as a first step towards a wholesale attempt at proselytizing, which admittedly would injure, and not advance, Christianity. With regard to Mr. Maconachie's point that a purely secular teaching amounted to a denial of God, a theistic teaching without Christ would amount to a denial of Christ. Some inoffensive means should be adopted of keeping before the minds of the Indian schoolboys the existence of an Omnipotent power and the advantages of holy living. The central idea of the four great religions prevalent in India was theism, and apart from that the founders of those faiths had drawn up ethical codes containing a vast variety of admirable precepts which were all concordant. His own suggestion would be that as the initiative must come from outside, not from the Government itself, pious representatives of those four great religions might well meet and draw up a religious text-book, in which the existence of God should be affirmed, and the advantages of holy living, according to their conceptions of God's rules, set forth. All dogma and controversial matter would, of course, be eschewed. Government might then be induced to use the book in Government schools.

MR. A. K. CONNELL commented on the philosophical text-books in use at the Indian Universities, and expressed his astonishment that Jowett's translations of Plato and Aristotle had not been adopted. He could conceive no greater discipline for the Hindu mind than to be taken through Plato, who in many respects was Oriental as well as Greek. With regard to a moral text-book, if it consisted of biographies of great men and an account of heroic acts, it would be good, but mere copy-book sentiments of the type of Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy" were worth nothing. He agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin that nothing would be more fatal than to undermine the Hindu or Mahommedan religions, because the religion of any country was bound up with the life of that country and its associations and stories, and was a power in that country for good. The best moral and religious teachers in India were those who took the religion as they found it, and did their best to purify it through its own prophets and preachers.

MR. J. B. PENNINGTON said: It would be impossible, I think, for anyone, whatever his personal belief may be, not to sympathize with such a very moderate presentment of the case for religious education as we have just listened to, and for my part I do not doubt that any believing Hindu and Mahommedan would welcome such instruction. But the question is whether it is the business of a Government to teach even such almost universally accepted dogmas. Considering how impossible it has been found to invent an undenominational religion even in this country which

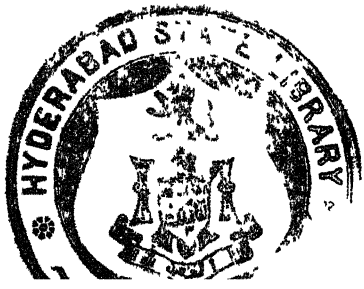
should make no such attempt. And I doubt if the harm done by purely secular education is so great as some people imagine. I don't know why I should hesitate to say that I do not accept Macaulay's sweeping assertion that "no Hindu who has had an English education can remain sincerely attached to his own religion," nor even the other statement that "education provided by the State simply destroys Hinduism." In my experience the educated Hindu generally remains a Hindu still, but his Hinduism is purged of much dross by his education. He no longer believes a great deal of what he believed before, and it is a good thing he does not. Indeed, he often becomes quite anxious to prove that *real* Hinduism is as good and as spiritual a religion as any other. As an old Hindu friend of mine once said to me after reading the Epistle of St. James, "Sir, that is pure Hinduism." Every religion, even the best, requires to be constantly reforming its views in accordance with the established facts of science, and Hinduism will be all the better for the influence brought to bear upon it by the steady growth of civilized and Christian thought in India, however imperfectly that thought may be expressed in the lives of Europeans; but for the Government to enter into the domain of theology and attempt to teach religion as the only basis of ethics, would in my opinion be a fatally retrograde step. Judging from experience we have all had, I should say it was not even true that a pure moral life can only be based on the hope of future reward, or still less on the fear of future punishment. Morality is no longer dependent on the religious sanction, it is rather the other way. Let us by all means, both as a Government and as private individuals, endeavour to set the natives a better example of what a Christian life ought to be, and it will not then be necessary to attempt the impossible task of teaching them religion in schools not properly adapted for the purpose. It would be necessary to start a conscience clause for those, however few they may be, who disbelieve in any Divine Ruler of the world.

The CHAIRMAN in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Maconachie for his very interesting paper, said that he approached the subject from the same standpoint as Mr. Maconachie, but came to a different conclusion. He would not discuss what could be done by missionary effort, but the question was raised by Mr. Maconachie, What were the duties of the Government of India with reference to education? Now, the instruction was as clear as anything could be: "We do strictly charge and inform all those who may be in authority under Us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of Our subjects on pain of Our highest displeasure." That was a command which every Governor and official in India had to obey implicitly, and it was from that basis they must start: that the Parsee, the Hindu, and the Mahommedan had as perfect a right to the exercise of their own religion without any hindrance, in educational establishments or elsewhere, as any Englishman in England had to practise his religion. (Hear, hear.) The question then arose whether education as given in Indian schools fulfilled all the requirements which could be required from secular education. He absolutely denied

(Applause.) If secular education had that for its result, it was because the spiritual leaders of the children attending secular schools did not do their duty in supplying outside the schools the instruction which ought to be given. Then came the question whether the Government of India was doing all that it ought to do with regard to the formation of character. The main point of education was the formation of character, and he was perfectly convinced that if Dr. Arnold of Rugby had been at the head of a secular establishment the boys coming from that school would have been men of a very high character. The character of a school depended entirely on the character of the person who taught. At the root of all educational problems was not the question what text-books were given, but whether the personal influence of the person at the head of the school was of a high character. If that were the case, he was convinced that without mentioning a word of Christian dogma the teacher's Christian influence would be felt in the institution. (Applause.) With regard to primary education in India, they must rely on teaching by natives. There could therefore not arise any question of teaching any other religion in the native schools for natives in India than such religion as would be understood by the teacher conducting the school. Then came the great question whether the training colleges for elementary teachers in India were at present such as to satisfy all that could be asked of them. That subject was such a large one that he would not like to enter upon it, but he could only say that during the years he was in Bombay he gave a great deal of attention to the subject, and he considered the local governments of India had hardly any duty of greater importance than to see to it that the heads of training colleges for the teachers of elementary schools should be persons whose influence over the pupil teachers was such as to make them proper guides for the youth of India. Of course the idea of making these training colleges in any way institutions of a proselytizing character must, under the instruction he had quoted, be absolutely abandoned. The same thing applied to the secondary schools, although he was of opinion, an opinion shared by several of his native friends in Bombay, that it would be very desirable to place at the head of those important institutions graduates of English Universities. With regard to the colleges, he again considered there was no more important duty that the Government in England had to exercise than in the appointment of the principals and English professors of those colleges. (Hear, hear.) He was very glad to hear the testimony given by Mr. Wagle to the professors of the Elphinstone College in Bombay, and what could be done was borne out by the statement of the influence exercised by his late excellent friend Dr. Chester Macnaghten. Of course, men like Dr. Chester Macnaghten were rare, and the duties to be performed in Indian colleges in the formation of native character were infinitely more difficult than similar duties in English colleges, and therefore he maintained that in the selection of principals and professors of Indian colleges higher tests should be applied than in the case even of their own schools and colleges in England. There was one thing that must not be forgotten, and that was, that the Hindus, the Parsees, and the Mahom-

science. He was convinced that that could be done by men who laid themselves out to win the confidence of the men in Indian colleges. That had been done by Dr. Chester Macnaghten and by Principal Wordsworth when at the head of Elphinstone College. In doing that a great deal more would be done than by accepting the solution proposed by the paper. In India he believed there was a feeling that their education must be more directed to the formation of character, and they must certainly find the means of showing that they did not limit themselves to teaching Plato and Aristotle, or, worse still, introducing moral text-books which would be entirely nerveless because the main factor of all morality would be absent; but they must try and find their way to the consciences of their native fellow-subjects. (Applause.) He was convinced that could be done, and that nothing would more add to the popularity of their rule than what was done in that way to promote education. Sir Roland Wilson had proposed a policy of absolute withdrawal from the field of education, but his (Lord Reay's) experience in India was that he was always asked for more money for education, and the great complaint against him was that he was niggardly in providing higher education. Every penny spent on technical education was watched, and under those circumstances he said deliberately that nothing would more redound to the discredit of our rule in India than to leave the field open to agencies which, whatever might be their merits, would not meet in any respect that to which our Indian subjects had a perfect right, that was, that the Indian Government should spend on their education, from their money for their improvement, what was spent in England by the English Government for our improvement. (Applause.)

Mr. Maconachie then briefly replied, and pointed out that he had not been trying to urge the teaching of theism as a complete religion, but his thesis was that Government taught certain things which were important and left out other things vastly more important which did harm to the people it wanted to do good to. He also disclaimed the statement that the Government colleges induced atheism.



CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

OPEN LETTERS TO LORD CURZON ON FAMINES AND LAND ASSESSMENTS IN INDIA.*

SIR,

Is it possible in this age of incessant hurry to get even the Anglo-Indian section of the British public to take any interest in the never-ending old controversy between the advocates of zemindári and ryotwári tenures of land in India? Volumes have been written on the subject during the hundred and odd years that have elapsed since the permanent settlement in Bengal, and yet it is commonly believed that not a single convert has ever been made by either party!

Perhaps, however, if it is once realized that the ryotwári system, properly understood, stands for land nationalization, where the State takes what may fairly be called the rent, and that in the case of the zemindar (who is the Indian representative of the English squire, or rather, since the promulgation of the various restrictive rent-laws, of the modern Irish landlord) the State only gets a tax on the rental value, it may be possible to excite some interest even yet in what Sir George Campbell, with characteristic shrewdness, called a dispute about words; and it is from this point of view that I propose to venture a few criticisms on Mr. Dutt's most useful volume. It is only fair, however, to say to begin with that he professes the most absolute indifference as to the character of the tenure on which land is held in various provinces of India; his only object in this work is to insist on the necessity for strictly moderate assessment of the Government demand, whatever the method of assessment may be; but it is easy to see that his preference is (naturally) for the permanent settlement of Bengal, and his prejudice in favour of superior landlords makes him sometimes inaccurate, and sometimes (unintentionally, of course), a little unjust in his remarks on the ryotwári tenure. He also too often ignores the principle which underlies the assessment of all land in India, namely, that *the State is entitled to a share of the produce*, "an eighth, a sixth, or even a fourth," though he does very frequently insist (and I am inclined to agree with him) that *more than one-fifth* should never be taken as revenue. Now, this principle of sharing the crop is not only a most reasonable arrangement, but is also the very backbone of all the schemes that have ever been made for land nationalization in this country. It does, however, involve a fair standard of cultivation, and it is impossible to say that it does not sometimes take more than it ought out of the ryot's own labour. That is why *scrupulous moderation in assessment* is an essential feature of a ryotwári settlement. The actual division of the crop has long been found altogether impracticable, and would, of course, necessitate some power on the part of Government to compel the proper cultivation of the land. The Madras plan, therefore, is to estimate the crop as it

ought to be under fair average cultivation, and to assess the land periodically with a tax equivalent to about half the net crop after deducting the cost of cultivation; and it is a fair question whether, if the value of the land has been materially increased since the last assessment, it ought not to be assessed somewhat more highly, not only on account of any actual rise in the price of grain, in which case Mr. Dutt himself would agree to enhancement, but also on account of any increase in the crop itself, *so far as that increase could be fairly attributed to the action of the Government, and to the general increase of prosperity in the country* in providing a better market for grain, etc., and so reducing the cost of cultivation. It is obvious that gradual and almost imperceptible improvements in irrigation and drainage would fairly entitle the Government, or any other "landlord" at whose expense they might have been carried out, to some increase of "rent." In fact, the State, as representing the whole people, could hardly carry out local improvements for the benefit of a few of its ryots with any fairness unless those ryots paid their share of the cost by increased assessment, and perhaps the simplest way of getting at the increased value of the crop is by looking to the increased value of the land, and considering how far that increased value is due to the exertions of the ryot, because so far, of course, the Government has no claim to increased revenue.

The true principle, then, of a ryotwári settlement is that the State and the ryot are *joint owners of the land*, or, as we should prefer to put it, joint trustees for the proper cultivation of the land, and share equally in its good and evil fortune; and those of us who are inclined to the idea that the State should never entirely divest itself of its share in the produce of the soil believe that the ryotwári system, *properly administered*, is the fairest for all, though (and perhaps even because) it can never produce millionaire landlords like some of the zemindars of Bengal, who were not only presented by that most honest and well-intentioned of landlords, Lord Cornwallis, with vast tracts of then uncultivated land, but also with all the "unearned increment."

Mr. Dutt makes a great point of the fact that many of our old settlement authorities, including Sir Thomas Munro himself, committed themselves to the opinion that the Government demand on the land under the ryotwári system once fixed was "fixed for ever," and, apparently, they meant fixed *in money*. But these were mere opinions, and when the subject came to be thoroughly considered in 1855, it was soon observed that to fix the assessment *in money* on every field, no matter what standard of cultivation it had reached, would be not only contrary to the true principle of a ryotwári settlement, but also to common-sense; and it was ultimately decided, after full discussion with the Home Government, that the assessment should be fixed in money for thirty years, and should then be liable to revision either way, so as to bring it up, if necessary, to the usual share due to Government. Mr. Dutt's charges of breach of faith on page 32 are therefore quite unfounded, the exact character of the ryotwári tenure having never been finally settled till the inauguration of the special department in 1855. To fix a permanent money assessment on each field at the beginning of the century would have been to repeat the blunder of the

Bengal Permanent Settlement, though on a less extensive and less arbitrary scale, and to adopt a practice to which Sir Thomas Munro himself so strongly objected, viz., that of settling things without a sufficient knowledge of the facts. It is curious that in 1824, after forty-four years of constant work amongst the people, he should have said that his "experience was still too short to judge what rules are best," and that more than thirty years "must probably elapse before we can be certain what is best." It was just over thirty years later that the principles of the ryotwári system were definitely settled. "No survey assessment of a great province," he says again, "can ever at once be made so correct as not to require future alteration" (Sir A. J. Arbuthnot's "Munro," vol. i., p. 261); and it is clear that even he did not consider that the assessment was absolutely fixed in money, for he speaks of it on the same page as "a standard by which the revenue can at any time be raised or lowered according as the state of affairs may require an increase of the burdens of the people, or may admit of their diminution," and adds that he "trusts we shall never have to go beyond the original assessment," etc. The very last words of this famous minute are to the effect that the land revenue should be "lowered when circumstances admit of reduction, and raised again in time of war" (p. 275 *id.*).

It should always be remembered, however, that at the first settlement in Madras the rates were almost invariably reduced, sometimes very largely, and that the immense strides the country made during the next thirty years, and the immense improvements that have been made in irrigation and in the means of communication, fully justify a considerable increase now in some localities. Then, again, in comparing the incidence of assessment in Bengal and Madras, it must not be forgotten that the revenue paid to Government under a ryotwári settlement is to be compared with the rent paid to the zemindar in Bengal. Mr. Dutt's comparison of the land revenue paid in Bengal and Madras, on p. 113, is entirely misleading. The Madras assessment of 12 to 31 per cent. of the gross produce (assuming his calculation to be correct) should be compared with the statement on p. 106, which shows that the Bengal ryots pay from 11·2 to 29·4 per cent. to his landlord—no great difference. In what respect, then, are the ryots in Madras worse off than the tenants in Bengal? Mr. Dutt says that *on the average* the tenants pay no more than one-sixth of the produce; but this is only another example of the misleading use of averages. The man who pays 29 per cent. of his produce is no better off, because "on the average" only 16 per cent. is paid, and it surely makes no difference to the cultivating ryot whether he pays from 11 to 29 per cent. to Government direct or to a zemindar who annexes two-thirds of the amount and pays to Government the remaining one-third, however much the neighbourhood generally may benefit by the private expenditure of the zemindar. There is, however, really no reason why the expenditure of a ryotwári Government like that of Madras should not be as beneficial to the ryots as that of a local zemindar, and it ought to be even more so. Sir Arthur Cotton's irrigation schemes would never have been carried out

In describing (on p. 8) the proposals that were made for introducing a permanent (ryotwári) settlement in the North-West Provinces in the time of Lord Canning, Mr. Dutt says that if they had been carried out, "India would have been spared those more dreadful, desolating famines which we have witnessed in later years." Now, considering that on an earlier page (xiv of the Preface) he admits that "famines are directly caused by the failure of the rains, over which man has no control," it is rather too much to say that the introduction of a permanent settlement, which would simply have made middle-men of a certain number of actual cultivators, would have put a stop to famine altogether. I, at any rate, cannot believe it; and when he goes on to say that "the interests of the land revenue received greater consideration than the well-being of the people," I feel bound to protest most strongly, because we advocates of a ryotwári settlement believe that the well-being of the country is best consulted by the ryot holding his land direct from the Government, and that he is (or ought to be) better off than a mere tenant under a private landlord (zemindar) however he may be secured by stringent tenant law. That the fortunate individuals who were to be presented with 10 per cent. of the produce and made zemindars, or rent-chargers, would have been better off is undoubted, but there can be equally little doubt that such permanent alienation of the revenue of the State is most unwise. Mr. Dutt indeed asserts (p. 12) that the extension of the permanent settlement would have "improved the condition of landlords and cultivators alike. He quotes the example of Bengal as proof of his assertion, but I have never been able to discover how the "actual cultivator" can be better off as tenant under a zemindar than when paying *the same share of his produce* direct to Government, and being to all intents and purposes owner of the land.

It is interesting to note that Sir Thomas Munro, after forty-four years of such experience of the country as few men have ever had, scoffs at the idea of the land revenue having ever been so low as one-sixth or one-fifth or even one-fourth of the produce (vol. i., p. 246), and his argument that, if it had been so moderate as that, "the payment of a fixed share in kind and all the expensive machinery requisite for its supervision would never have been required," affords at any rate a curious incidental corroboration of Mr. Dutt's contention that with such an assessment as 20 per cent. of the gross, "the revenue would in every year, in good or bad seasons, be easily and punctually paid."

I commend to Mr. Dutt's attention the whole of Sir Thomas Munro's reflections on the assessment levied in the good old days, even before the Mohammedan conquest (vol. i., pp. 246-250). Property in land has grown up in Tinnevelly since Munro's time, for in 1820 the collector reported that land in the Tambraparni Valley, where it is scarcely to be bought now for love or money, had "no saleable value." Mr. Dutt's statement that a rental of "one-third of the gross produce is unexampled in Bengal or Northern India, and *double* the rate prescribed by the old Hindu law," which allowed one-eighth, one-sixth, or even one-fourth in extreme cases, is indeed surprising, and may be usefully compared with Sir Thomas

Government limits its demand to one-fifth, or even one-fourth, of the gross produce, the ryot will soon become a landlord in a small way, because we know that land is actually being cultivated by men who receive no more than 25 per cent. of the produce as the reward of their labour; and such petty landlords will, it may be hoped, be in a position very soon to tide over a bad season now and then, and even keep their "actual cultivators" out of the clutches of famine.

Land nationalizers are not anxious to create great landlords, but there can be no proper cultivation of the land and no permanent improvenent of the country unless the "actual cultivator" is assured of the reward of his own exertions, and has a reasonable prospect of rising from the ranks of labour by his own thrift and hard work. This is not incompatible with a steady increase in the revenue by the systematic taxation of the "unearned increment."

J. B. PENNINGTON.

September, 1900.

FAMINES AND LAND ASSESSMENTS IN INDIA.

SIR,

Since the publication of my work on "Famines and Land Assessments in India," I have received numerous communications on the subject from retired officials who have held high judicial or administrative posts in India. All my correspondents agree with me as to the necessity of moderating rents and fixing some reasonable limits of enhancement in order to improve the condition of Indian cultivators. And some of my correspondents have also favoured me with friendly criticisms on one or two points which require to be cleared up.

The different land administration systems in the different Provinces of India may be broadly divided into two classes, viz., the *Zemindari* system of Northern India, and the *Ryotwari* system of Southern India. I have purposely abstained from pronouncing in favour of one or the other of these two systems; all that I have insisted upon is, that the land revenue should be moderate and equitable, whatever the prevailing land system may be.

Mistakes were made in every Province of Northern India in the early years of British rule. In Bengal nine-tenths of the rental was demanded as the Government revenue; but as this revenue was permanently fixed the evil was remedied in time; and at present the Government revenue represents less than one-third of the rental. In the N.W. Provinces three-fourths of the rental was demanded as the Government revenue, but the proportion was subsequently reduced to two-thirds, and then to one-half, which is the present rate. In the Punjab one-third of the gross produce was demanded as the Government revenue, but this was subsequently reduced to one-fourth and then to one-sixth; and, generally speaking, the Government revenue represents about one-half the rental in that Province at present. It will thus be seen that the worst mistakes have been rectified in Northern India, and the land revenue in Northern India now represents one-half or less of the rental; in other words, about *ten per cent. or*

Similar mistakes in over-assessing the land were made in Southern India, and my contention is that in Southern India the mistakes have not been rectified after a century of British rule. I go further, and maintain that this over-assessment has been continued in Madras and in Bombay in violation of distinct orders from the Court of Directors and from the Secretary of State for India. The Court of Directors wrote in their despatch of December 17, 1856, that the "right of the Government is not a *rent* which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the cost of cultivation and the profits of agricultural stocks, but a *land revenue* only." And after the East India Company was abolished, Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, repeated this mandate in his famous despatch of 1864, and further laid down that only a share, generally a half-share, of the rent, should be taken as land revenue. If this order had been loyally carried out, the land revenue in Madras and Bombay would have been the same as in Northern India, for one-half the rent is about one-tenth the gross produce of the soil. But the order of Sir Charles Wood has been virtually ignored in Madras and in Bombay, and, by a vicious system of testing the productive powers of the land, by under-estimating the cost of cultivation, by carrying on settlement operations and calculations in the dark, and by denying the cultivator any appeal to any independent tribunal from the finding of the settlement officer, the actual land revenue obtained in Madras and Bombay is, not one-half the rent as was laid down by Sir Charles Wood, nor 10 per cent. the gross produce as in Northern India, but *from* 12 *to* 33 *per cent. of the gross produce*, which is more than the full average rent paid by cultivators to landlords in Northern India.

Half the rental is nominally the rate of land revenue all over India where the revenue has not been permanently settled. It is the rate laid down by Sir Charles Wood for Madras and Bombay, and it is the rate recognised by the Governments of the N.W. Provinces and the Punjab. Now see how this rule is applied in the different Provinces by the different Local Governments. In the Punjab and the N.W. Provinces half the rent actually paid is taken as the Government revenue; in Madras and in Bombay virtually the full rent is swept away as the Government revenue. In the Punjab and the N.W. Provinces 8 to 10 per cent. of the gross produce is considered as half the rent and taken as the Government revenue; in Madras and in Bombay 12 to 33 per cent. of the gross produce is considered as half the rent, and taken as the Government revenue. It is against this injustice, it is against this practical violation of Sir Charles Wood's orders (and not against the *Ryotwari* system as such) that I protest.

So long have Madras and Bombay settlement officers accustomed themselves to act in violation of the spirit of Sir Charles Wood's orders, that their very conceptions of the relation between the State and the cultivator are undergoing a change. They now speak of the State and the cultivator as *joint owners of the land*, which is untrue, because the State has repeatedly and emphatically recognised the cultivator as the sole owner or proprietor of the land. They claim as *revenue* more than what landlords in Northern

revenue should be about half the rent. They make enhancements on vague grounds, such as *the general prosperity of the country*, under which no landlord in any civilized country would be permitted to raise his rents; and the result is that the so-called prosperity of the country leads to the growing impoverishment of the cultivator after each recurring settlement, and therefore to frequent and widespread famines, such as we have seen in Southern India since 1877.

I have, in my work, quoted chapter and verse to prove that for a period of forty years, from 1816 to 1856, both the Madras Government and the Madras Board of Revenue held the settlements made with the Madras cultivators to be *permanent, and not liable to any further increase.* Nevertheless, I have not asked for the restoration of this *Ryotwari permanent settlement* for Southern India. What I have asked is what the Madras Government and the Government of India considered in 1882 to be possible and desirable and expedient, viz., that in districts once settled no future enhancement of rents should be permitted except on the equitable ground of a rise in prices. I have also asked that the revenue should in no single case exceed one-fifth the gross produce, and should not, for an entire district, exceed 10 per cent. the gross produce, which is the generally prevailing limit in Northern India. And I have asked that, in case of differences between the cultivator and the settlement officer, an appeal should be allowed to an impartial tribunal not connected with the duty of collection of revenue.

The apprehension is sometimes entertained, or at least professed, that to assess the cultivator lightly would be to make a landlord of him, with a new race of miserable cultivators under him. The argument is belied by the state of things in Bengal. In Bengal, the millions of actual cultivators, those who hold the plough and reap the rice, are lightly assessed at about one-sixth the gross produce; and they are not becoming a race of petty landlords with a new race of cultivators under them.

India is a great agricultural country. The people of India have always depended mainly on agriculture; and they do so now to a greater extent than they ever did before, when their village looms brought them some income. To over-assess the soil is to impoverish the country. To moderate rents, and to fix clear, definite, equitable, and intelligible limits to enhancements, is the only possible way to improve the condition of the people.

Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence went further; they proposed to fix the land revenue permanently for all India, in order to promote the prosperity of the people, and the accumulation of capital in the country. Some portion of their far-sighted wisdom and generous sympathy for the people may yet animate the present race of administrators.

ROMESH DUTT.

September, 1900.

PROTECTORATE OF UGANDA.

A preliminary Report* has been presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner (H. H. Johnston), which contains very

valuable information with respect to health and climate, the people, distribution of population, native taxation, products and resources of the country, and an excellent summary of the present condition of the protectorate. Maps illustrating the Report will soon be published by command of the Government.

THE UGANDA RAILWAY.

This important and philanthropic railway scheme is making gradual progress, as indicated by a Parliamentary paper just presented ("Africa, No. 7, 1900") to Parliament. On March 31, 1899, the permanent alignment had been marked out in detail to the 418th mile. Most of the remaining 164 miles were staked out during the present year, and the survey was actually completed in April last. It is stated that no dependence can be placed on native labour, and hence Indian labourers are employed. They have increased from 3,948 in 1896 to 18,030 in 1899. A permanent telegraph line of three wires has been completed to Nairobi, mile 326, two wires to mile 362. A light line for the use of the protectorate has been made to Kampala. Mules have been found the best kind of animal transport. From the new alignment the line will be considerably shorter, and its whole length from Kilindini to Port Victoria will now be about 632 miles, as against 657 by the original project. The expenditure to March 31 last amounted to £3,043,012, and for the present year it will amount, as estimated, to £943,166.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD; LONDON, 1899.

1. *In Moorish Captivity: an Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus*, 1897-98, by HENRY M. GREY, a member of the expedition. This is the story of an expedition sent out in November, 1897, by a London syndicate, in order to open up a trade with the Sus tribes of Morocco, a part of the country hitherto untrodden by Europeans, and which owed very slender allegiance to the Sultan. A small steam-yacht was loaded up with Manchester goods, rifles, and ammunition, at Antwerp, by Major Spilsbury.

The principal characters are Sabbah, a Syrian Jew, the Major's interpreter, through whose help whilst previously in Mogador he became acquainted with a merchant named Pepe Retto; and Embarak-o-Hamed and Mohammad el Tamaneri, who represented themselves as delegates of the principal chiefs of Sus. A treaty was signed by the paramount chief of Sus, and approved by the British Vice-Consulate; but the Sultan got a hint of the affair, and took prompt measures to checkmate the enterprise. A party landed at Arksis, on the coast of Sus, and several lots of rifles and goods were disposed of, in spite of the vigilance of the Sultan's steamer *Hassani*.

The Sultan's cavalry attacked the tribesmen among whom the party lived, and they were, with some sailors from the yacht, eventually captured, and chained and marched northward on camels several hundred miles. Instructions came at last for them to be sent to Mogador, where they arrived after 100 days' captivity in the hands of the Moors. They were handed over to the Vice-Consul, and eventually brought to trial, and sentenced to different terms of imprisonment for "illegally importing arms and ammunition into Maroquine territory." A full account of the trial is given in an appendix. The habits and customs of the people amongst whom they travelled are well and amusingly described, as also life in the kasbahs, or villages. There are several illustrations. The work is well written, and the narrative will be perused with much interest.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; LONDON, 1900.

2. *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, translated from the original Pali of the Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi by Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A. The above is only an abstract of the title of this portentous work, which, if given in full, would occupy too much space, and perhaps prove somewhat staggering to the ordinary reader. On its back the book bears the shorter title "Buddhist Psychology." If anyone should ask what this means, the answer is supplied at p. xxvi of the introduction, where we learn that the work is a "manual or text-book," and that "its subject is ethics," but that "the inquiry is conducted from a psychological standpoint, and, indeed, is in great part an analysis of the psychological and

Comparing the teaching of Buddha with that of Plato, the erudite authoress remarks that "whereas the latter psychologized from an ethical standpoint, the former built his ethical doctrine on a basis of psychological principles." After this it is rather a relief to find that the Buddhists held that "for purposes of analysis it was justifiable to break up the mental continuum of the moral individuality into this or that congeries of mental phenomena."

From the above remarks it will be seen that this is a book for the initiated only, for those who understand the "psychophysical" meaning of the remarkable dog-Latin, quasi-English terms employed, such as "conation," "hedonist rather than eudæmonistic," "noumenal implications," "instinctive or spontaneous intellection." For the benefit of those qualified to judge of such abstruse matters, the following brief abstract of the contents is given.

In a formidably learned introduction of about one hundred pages, the authoress gives an account of the Manual, its date, commentaries, method, and argument; the history of psychology; an essay on the Dhammā, on Rūpa and the Buddhist theory of sense, philosophy of mind, and theory of intellection; and on the Buddhist notions of good, bad, and indeterminate.

When, from the learned introduction, with its imposing array of technical terms and abstruse disquisitions, we turn to the Manual itself, it seems hardly to correspond to all this scientific talk. It is like all Buddhist writings, curt and bald in style, and encumbered with those endless, wearisome repetitions with which we are now so familiar owing to the Buddhist propaganda that has been going on of late years. There is the usual tautology and amplification, the long strings of words whose relevancy is so obscure, and the fantastic symbolism and grouping. For instance, if anyone should be consumed by a longing to know what is the "nutriment of representative cogitation," he will be gratified to learn (p. 31) that it is "the thinking, the cogitation, the reflection that there is on that occasion —this is the representative cogitation that there then is." The phrase "that occasion" is explained elsewhere—"when a good thought concerning the sensuous universe has arisen." So that it all means that when a thought has arisen there is thinking, which one might possibly have found out for one's self.

Here is a fuller specimen of the work (p. 45):

"Which are the states that are good?

"When, that he may attain to the heavens of Form, he cultivates the way thereto, suppressing the working of conception and thought discursive, and so, by earth-gazing, enters into and abides in the second Jhāna (rapt meditation) which is self-evolved, born of concentration, full of joy and ease, in that, set free from the working of conception and thought discursive, the mind grows calm and sure, dwelling on high—then the contact, the feeling, the perception, the thinking, the thought, the joy, the ease, the self-collectedness, the faculties of faith, energy, mindfulness, con-

corporeal, casually induced states there are on that occasion—these are states that are good."

This answer, with trifling modifications, with all its bewildering and unintelligible verbosity, occurs over and over again, as, in fact, do most of the principal questions and answers, till one is confused and wearied with the childish iteration.

It is true that in a good many cases this endless repetition has been avoided by references to places where the phrase occurs before, but it is to be regretted that this is not always done. The plan might with advantage have been applied far more frequently, and the bulk of the volume might thus have been reduced by one half or more without any loss to the reader. The translation is accompanied by copious and learned notes throughout. The work must have cost an enormous amount of labour and research—far more than the subject merits—and it has evidently been most carefully and conscientiously performed. Let us hope that it may find enough purchasers to indemnify, to some extent, at least, the Oriental Translation Fund for the cost of its production. If, however, the managers of that Fund hope to make it at any time self-supporting, they must publish books of greater popular interest than the present work, which we fear will prove "caviare to the general." J. B.

F. A. BROCKHAUS; LEIPZIG, 1900.

3. *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, by DR. A. GRUNWEDEL. Prince E. Uchtomsky, whose likeness is given on the frontispiece, writes a lucid and scholarly introduction to the work. Our readers may remember that the latter was the official diarist of the travels in the East of Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia, when Czarewitch in 1890-91. The 188 illustrations that adorn the book are mostly taken from the Prince's interesting collection of bronzes, which he collected during his travels in the countries where the religion of Sakya Muni flourished, and which subject he has made his special study.

Dr. Grunwedel's record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India, the Malay Archipelago, Tibet, and Mongolia, and the exposition of its doctrines, is very complete. The three chapters into which the work is divided contain an immense variety of subjects relating to the various elements of Buddhistic worship and study, and to those who are interested in tracing the gradual development of Buddhism throughout the ages it will prove very valuable. The value of the work is further enhanced by numerous notes and a glossary.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS; SHANGHAI.

4. *Variétés Sinologiques, No.* 17. *Inscriptions Juives de K'ai-fong Fu*, by REV. JERÔME TOBAR, S.J. This fascicule of 110 pages practically exhausts the inquiry into all the first-hand knowledge we possess about Jews in China. The local Jews themselves have had a persistent tradition

into China at this date by way of Turkestan. Another thing that is clearly established from the Chinese records is that Buddhism and Nestorianism have been much jumbled together by Celestial historians. Of course, missionaries—Protestant as well as Catholic—are often unconsciously swayed in their minds, so as to take decisions upon these points as far as possible in the historical interests of Christianity. Personally, I am disposed to think that Christianity drew upon both Buddhism and Judaism for its ideals, and that the line of separation in the early Christian mind was equally vague in both cases—*i.e.*, that it took some centuries for early Christians to conceive a religious existence alike independent of Buddhism and of Judaism. Of course, no orthodox Christian, not to say Catholic teacher, will entertain my view; but I have nothing to do with feelings or bias: I only suggest the real truth as it appears to me. I see no evidence whatever in what Père Tobar says to show that the Jews (as a religious establishment) entered, or at least gained a footing, in China before the date when they are specifically stated on the stone tablets to have done so —to wit, the twelfth century. In Mongol times the Jews are on several occasions mentioned under such names as Djuhut, Tchu-Wu, Tchuhut, etc.; and in our own days the central, if not the only, synagogue at K'ai-fêng Fu (a Chinese capital from 900 to 1200 A.D.) has been visited by both Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Unfortunately, the last flickerings of light have departed from the benighted souls of the degenerate Chinese Israelites, who have with their own hands at last torn down for base building materials their ancient temple, have lost all recollection of Hebrew, and have begun to abandon circumcision, and even consort with pagan women. Luckily, however, the original stone inscriptions are still *in situ*, and facsimiles as well as copies have been obtained, and are now for the first time published and translated by Père Tobar. Moreover, if the wretched Jews have (as they have) been willing to part with their old Hebrew Pentateuchs and *Hasutala* (prophecies, psalms, etc.) for filthy lucre, at least we have now got them in such safe places as the museums of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Finally, we have an authentic plan and full description of the destroyed synagogue, which seems to have perished during the poverty and misery caused by the T'aip'ing rebellion of forty years ago.

Although Chinese standard history has a good deal to say about Mussulmans, Manichæans, Nestorians, Magi, etc., I have never come across the word "Jew" (Djud) anywhere except in Mongol history, and the Chinese seem to have always been under the impression that they were a kind of Mussulman—in fact, the term *ts'ing-chên-sz*, or "pure true monastery," is applied to both mosques and synagogues; whilst the Jews themselves are occasionally styled *tiao-kin hwei-hwei*, or "sinew-extracting Moslems," and *lan-mao*, or "blue-cap" Moslems, in allusion to certain religious customs. And the term *ts'ing-chên* manifestly refers to their *kosher* practices, which in the Chinese mind would naturally exactly resemble the anti-pork and anti-alcohol habits of the Mussulmans. The one thing remarkable about the Chinese Jews is the utter absence in any of the documentary evidence

inscriptions; but in the books of prayers the inquirers cited by Père Tobar seem to have discovered some slight indications of such notions. And although the Chinese Jews (naturally enough amid such surroundings) took kindly to ancestral sacrifice, there is nothing to show what ideas upon the subject of a future life possessed their minds. The following names are clearly identifiable in Chinese character: Alān, Awulohan, Isshak, Nüa, Yaaköw, Mese, Aalen, Aitsla, Yesuo, Isloye. If we knew the dates when each of these names was first used in character, we might judge of the earliest Jewish dates in China. For instance, Aburahan and Yaköb would be two of the sounds intended in A.D. 600, but not in A.D. 1200. The mythical Chinese Pandora (Nü-wa) has been bodily borrowed as a shift for Noah, and Abraham is euphonically called in some places Olo (or Ara), and also Lohan (Rahân), which last is the Chinese for Buddhist *Arhats*. Strange to say, the same word *Lohan* elsewhere figures in Nestorian affairs, so that we must manifestly be careful not to allow Chinese "personal equations" to draw us into philological traps and mare's-nests. It is interesting to know, however, that the late Gabriel Devéria has managed, with the aid of his Orientalist colleagues, to unearth the Persian word *ustâd* out of the Chinese *wu-sz-tah*, which represents a Rabbinical title. We may safely accept this, for Devéria was a singularly prudent and wary critic.

The whole question of Jews in China, the probable date of their first arrival, the allusions to them in standard literature, the nature of their faith, the appearance of their synagogue, the meaning and bearing of the Chinese inscriptions in or near it, and so forth—all this is gone into by Père Tobar in that thorough way to which the Shanghai Jesuits are slowly but surely accustoming us. Hitherto a thick incrustation of dilettantism, trifling, quackery, and humbug has been allowed to settle upon only too many of the sinological questions of historical interest. What with Accadian, Babylonian, Persian, Celtic, Indian, and other mysterious influences vaguely trotted out from time to time to account for this or that Chinese peculiarity, people have felt disposed to regard Chinese historical knowledge as a strange hocus-pocus much on a par with Chinese finance and Chinese military capacity. As a matter of fact, Chinese literature, and more especially (so far as foreign events are concerned) Chinese stone inscriptions, are now found as sober and trustworthy as they have hitherto been inaccessible and incompletely studied. Thanks to the Bretschneiders, Hirths, Chavannes, amongst laymen, and, above all, to the Jesuits of Siccawei, we are now beginning to find out the real naked truth, and, as one of those same Jesuits wittily wrote to me the other day, "On finira par connaître la Chine à l'instant où elle va disparaître." The last word has not yet been said on Chinese Jews, but Jews there were and still are, even though the degenerate "Children of the Ghetto" in K'ai-fêng Fu may have forestalled Mr. Zangwill's heroes in their neglect of *kosher*. E. H. P.

5. *Petit Dictionnaire Français-Chinois*, by P. A. DEBESSE, S.J. Everyone will remember John Bellows' charming pocket dictionary for the

ago—a most perfect specimen of conciseness and neatness. The present volume resembles it very much in point of compactness and clearness, though the Chinese characters do not permit of quite so much economy of space. The book is in octavo, and therefore double the size of Bellows'. On the other hand, it is only half as thick, and hence its bulk is about the same. Bellows' dictionary could be thrust into the waistcoat or trousers pocket; the Franco-Chinese counterpart will go easily into the side or tail pocket of an ordinary coat. As the author explains in his preface, there is no lack of French and English dictionaries for the Chinese language; but his work under notice is specially intended for pocket and travelling use, when the average bulky tome would be out of place or inaccessible. In these days, when inquiry is being so often made "how to learn Chinese," the appearance of such a publication is doubly important, and it ought to be very useful to the numerous persons who go out "seeking" in one capacity or another. There are about 10,000 French or key-words in the 500 pages, and these key-words are further sub-defined by the help of suitable brackets. The second column in each page consists of the Chinese characters corresponding to the chief meanings of the key-words, with asterisks and points to keep each definition group apart from the other. The third column is the Romanized form of the characters, and in deciding upon what standard to follow, M. Debesse has once more invented one of his own. But this approaches so near to the average of the Wade, Williams, and Perny standards that no great fault can be found with it. The author is undoubtedly wise in discarding such corrupt initials as *hs* in favour of *h* and *s*, and so on with other Pekingese mutilations of *ts* and *k*, and many more analogous. The paper and printing are absolutely perfect, though, strange to say, the very first paragraph contains a missprint—*i'aspiration* for *l'aspiration*. By the way, M. Debesse does very well in twice calling special attention to the extreme importance of the aspirate, "especially in North China." As a matter of fact, it is just as important elsewhere, except that in other places (1) there is a faint aspirate or stress midway between the strong aspirate and the unaspirated vowel, and (2) the *d*, *g*, and *b* (by a sort of Grimm's law) take the place of t^{ϵ}, k^{ϵ}, and p^{ϵ}. Amid so much "Chinese" literature of a catchpenny and ill-digested kind, it is a sincere pleasure to call attention once more to the devoted labours of the Jesuit Fathers, which is always of the soundest description. Not only the Jesuits, but Frenchmen generally, have well established their title to the very first rank in practical sinology. It is curious to note how the business-like Englishman or American has excelled chiefly in such vague specialities as the classics, Buddhism, and ponderous dictionary lines, whilst the Frenchman, who is usually considered by us so unbusiness-like, is easily first in such practical work as geography, cartography, history, meteorology, trade, and pocket vocabularies. E. H. P.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND NEW YORK.

The Oxford English Dictionary: a New English Dictionary on

logical Society, edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. July 2, 1900. *Gradely—Greement* (vol. iv.), by HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A. Oxon; and *Inferable—Inpushing* (vol. v.). The number of words recorded in the first part or section is 1,556, whereas in Johnson it is 143; the number illustrated by quotation is 1,328, in Johnson 120; and the number of illustrative quotations is 7,741, in Johnson 433. The largest portion of the words included in this section is proximately of French etymology, the ulterior origin being usually Latin. A curious etymology of the word *gravy* is given. It is traced to the old French *grané*, but in old printed texts it appears as *gravé*, being a misprint for *grané*, from the old French word *grain*—"anything used in cooking"—and the word, with one exception, in English MSS. appears as it was misprinted in French; hence our word *gravy*. In this section there are also a few Teutonic words, one Celtic (*gralloch*). Also Scandinavian words, as *gradely*. The native English, though not numerous, are very important. The adjective *great* (in the treatment of which valuable help was given by Dr. H. Sweet) occupies, with its compounds and derivatives, over eighteen columns.

In the second part, or section—*Inferable* to *Inpushing*—there are recorded 1,701 words, while in Johnson this number is 246 words; illustrated by quotations 1,453, as against 206 in Johnson; and the number of illustrative quotations is 6,688, which in Johnson is 592. In this part or section words of the old English age or of native formation are proportionally more numerous than in the preceding part or section. The most notable and interesting word in the group *In* is *Inn*, in the history of which there is much that is new, in connection with the Inns of students at the Universities, and the Inns of Court and Chancery. On the important legal terms, *information*, *inhibition*, *injunction*, and *innuendo*, skilled assistance was obtained. The word *ink* and its compounds occupies, in its origin, history, and compounds, more than five columns.

A double section of this exhaustive and most important work—*Input* to *Inv*—is published to-day (October 1).

CHAPMAN AND HALL, LIMITED; LONDON, 1900.

7. *China in Decay*, by ALEXIS KRAUSSE. Third edition. As we all know, it requires a Consul to instruct a British merchant how to do his business; in the same way, the China League and the China Association are indispensable if Lord Salisbury is not to pull the Foreign Office down about our ears. On this principle, therefore, we may congratulate ourselves that we have our "handy man" in the shape of Mr. Krausse (who has apparently never set foot in China) to give us a "jolly good bracing up" all round, and save us before we perish. Mr. Krausse wields the scissors and paste-brush with amazing dexterity. Even the smallest of us, down to my very self, are laid under contribution. There is, however, a cheery frankness about this author which disarms serious hostility. He makes no pretence to original information. He knows the public likes

reading his book if I were idling my time away in gaol, if only as a mere exercise in testing the memory upon the number of statements in each page which require correction. Thus, on p. 71 we are told of the Ming dynasty, "which endured for more than 600 years" (it endured 260), and of "Wontsong, the eleventh of the Ming Kings" (Wu Tsung). On p. 84 Hien-fêng's widow Tsz An becomes an "ex-concubine," and his concubine is promoted to be the "Empress Tsi Thsi." On p. 233 "Mr. Hart continued to perform the onerous duties attached to his post up to his death." Mr. Krausse gives short shrift to any luckless Powers who may be standing in England's way: "The actions of Germany and Russia have been practically identical, differing only as to *modus operandi*. Both are despoilers without conscience; but while Germany employs the methods of a highwayman, Russia prefers to imitate those of an accomplished swindler" (p. 328). Meanwhile that poor dear lamb England is in a parlous way. The first danger is "that Lord Salisbury . . . may seek by a braggart policy to regain the lost ground in China"; and the other is "that the Government [? with or without Lord Salisbury] may go to the other extreme, and take no steps to secure the vast interests which appertain to this country in the Far East" (p. 370). Then, as to the arming of the Boxers, Mr. Krausse says: "The Mausers I do not deny, nor do I question the possession of machine and Krupp guns. These follies are the outcome of unreasoning trade" (p. 375). But there is a crumb of comfort: "It remains to be seen whether Russia will be permitted to profit by the present outbreak" (p. 378), and we are told there is on the war-path a progressive named "Cheng Bo Cheng, Governor of Honan," who has "benefited by a Western education" (p. 380). This formidable personage must be Ch'ên Pao-chêng, formerly Governor of *Hu* Nan, an honest official of the old school, degraded two years ago "for ever," and who must be totally ignorant of "Western education." On p. 381 the Dowager-Empress "Tsi An" gets her rights once more, and even "Tsi Hsi, the former concubine," though properly shown her ex-concubinical place, gets a fair share of correct spelling. Mr Krausse's list (pp. 386, 387) of seven "what we wants" sounds very like the periodical advice given somewhat in the following style by censors to the hard-headed old Dowager: (1) Inner searchings of heart; (2) abstinence from excessive table indulgence; (3) repairing of roads and bridges; (4) doles to all widows and orphans; (5) reverential demeanour at sacrifices; (6) strictness with the eunuchs; (7) hunting for the most capable men. Even the appendix and the index have their surprises, for Mr. Krausse, like Justinian, "though he lives in spelling, is above spelling." Thus "Quo ta Zahn" was the first accredited Minister to London, and Mr. N. R. "O'Connor" was one of our own Ministers; whilst poor old Dr. Legge was a "Sinalogue." E. H. P.

J. M. DENT AND CO.; BEDFORD STREET, LONDON, 1900.

8. *The Civilization of India*, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E. A concise

rise of Buddhism, the Puranic age, the Rajput ascendancy, the Afghan rule, the Moghal rule, and the Mahratta ascendancy (A.D. 1718 to 1818). There are various illustrations and three maps. Mr. Dutt sums up the later ascendancy as follows: "Amidst the general disintegration of the Moghal empire, and the rise of new political powers in all parts of India, the leading part was taken by the Mahrattas, and the leading story of the eighteenth century in India is the story of Mahratta supremacy." As Sir William Hunter says, "The British won India, not from the Mughals, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal empire had broken up; our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi King nor with the revolted Governors, but with two Hindu confederacies—the Mahrattas and the Sikhs." Mr. Dutt's book is composed of short paragraphs with prominent headings, and a minute index. It will form a very useful compendium in schools and other educational seminaries.

T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON, 1899. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK. (THE STORY OF THE NATIONS SERIES.)

9. *China*, by PROFESSOR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. The empire of China covers so vast a period that it is impossible to compress the whole subject within the limits of a single volume. Hence the limit of Professor Douglas's work is the annals of the empire from the time of Marco Polo to the present time. This is contained in a very handsome volume of about 500 pages, with an excellent index, several illustrations, and a map. He traces very shortly the early history; the Yuan and Ming dynasties; the rise of the Manchus; the reigns of Yungchêng, Ch'ienlung, Chiach'ing; the foreign relations with the country; the Chinese wars; the T'aip'ing, the Nienfei, and Mohammedan rebellions; T'ungchih's reign, and the first years of that of Kwanghsü; the war with Japan; and recent events. Referring to the ancient name K'itan or Cathay, the author says: "The Tartars, who had constantly raided the northern provinces, appeared in force, and so successfully waged war on the Southern Empire that they secured for themselves the China of that day from the river Yangtsze northward. These hardy warriors were known as K'itan, the word from which the medieval name of Cathay is derived, and which, under the form of K'itai, is still that by which China is known to the Russian people." Bank notes were in existence four centuries before that mode of currency was introduced into Europe, and a specimen of these early notes will be found exhibited in the King's Library of the British Museum, the printing of which is almost black, from the bark of the mulberry-tree. Professor Douglas has spared no effort in making the history as accurate and complete as his space allowed him. It will form a standard work to English students.

HENRY FROWDE; OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE.

10. *Early Babylonian History down to the end of the Fourth Dynasty of Ur.* To which is appended an Account of the E. A. Hoffman Collection

including 18 pp. of Indices. This work (for the perusal of which we may at once say the author presupposes some knowledge of Sumerian grammar by the reader) was first written as a Doctor's Dissertation, and submitted as such to the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University, New York, in 1898, but has been supplemented, the author says, by all the inscriptions published to April 1, 1900. The author has specially endeavoured to arrange the kings of the different dynasties so far known to us in certain chronological order; to transcribe and translate where possible all texts not to be found in K.B. III.; to give in a note under each respective king all inscriptions that belong to that king; and to avoid deductions and legendary matter. In all these points the author has laboured with German thoroughness and attention to detail, reviewing the theories of Hilprecht, Thurean-Dangin, Henzey, Jensen, De Sarzee, Hommel, Winckler, and others, agreeing sometimes with one, sometimes with another, and sometimes with none of them.

As the author says on his first page, "recent excavations have brought to light tablets which show us that in the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates there existed a highly civilized nation as early as 5000 B.C., a nation which had its own language and its own system of signs in which to express it"; and (page 213) "in the earliest recorded period of Babylonian history we find the question raised, Who shall govern in Babylonia? Shall the north be the master, or shall it be the south? The struggle was protracted." What the author shows us is, in fact, a prolonged struggle for the mastery between a number of small states each having some famous city, such as Shirpurla, Ur, Agade, Larsa, or Nippur as its capital. Of these sometimes one overcame its neighbours, sometimes another, each, as it came uppermost, settling its boundaries "for ever" to its own satisfaction, but each "for ever" coming to a speedy termination, till all alike were overwhelmed by the desolation which has concealed them for ages. The precise order of these struggles and successes has less interest for the general reader than the proof that they give of the continuity and homogeneity of human nature, and of the enormous antiquity of the beginnings of civilization; but for the reader who has acquired a knowledge of Sumerian grammar, the details are naturally of great importance, and Dr. Radan will guide him through their intricate mazes in a careful and even interesting manner. The author, however, we are sure, does not in the least imagine that the last word has yet been spoken about any of the subjects he has treated of. So far, indeed, are we from reaching the end of the matter, that we can hardly be said yet to have come to the beginning. Still, the book before us is a solid contribution to the study of it.

The Hoffman Collection consists of 262 old and new Babylonian tablets and fragments relating to all sorts of subjects, of many of which the author gives copies in cuneiform, with transliterations, translations, comments, and notes. The collection was chiefly derived from Telloh, Borsippa, Warka, and Nippur.

HARRISON AND SONS; 59 PALL MALL, LONDON, 1900.

11. *The Siege of Mafeking: a Patriotic Poem*, by E. GILBERT HIGHTON, M.A. Cantab. et Oxon., F.R.S.L., Barrister-at-Law. This patriotic poem is dedicated to Mrs. Baden-Powell, the mother of the hero of Mafeking. It was written a few days after the historical narrative appeared in the *Times*, and was read by the author to several distinguished scholars, critics, and poets, whose favourable verdict encouraged him to give it to the public; and we are certain that the public who read it will confirm the verdict of the jury. The poem embraces some striking points in the history of the siege, as to those gallant men who fell, and those who survived. That our readers may judge of the merits of the poem, we shall quote a few lines on Mafeking's relief:

"But, in that time which comes to all who wait,
Would rescue bring the weary soul to cheer
And crown its patience with a glorious end.
That end has come, the Banners light and free
Of Mahon's forces now to Plumer's joined
Are seen fair floating in the morning air,
Their steeds come dashing o'er the wide-spread Veldt,
Their trumpets sound the charge, the Boers flee,
Their cordon broken and themselves in rout,
But ere their flight, and ere relief arrives,
One more exploit the garrison achieve
By capturing Eloff and a hundred Boers
In their last rush to seize the little Town.
The weak capture the strong, but right is might—
'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.'"

And the outburst of the joy of the besieged is thus given:

"No wonder was it, that those strong men wept,
No wonder was it, that the faces wan,
Which had so often tried to smile at fear,
Should be suffused with tears—the tears that flow
As natural offspring of the o'erjoyed heart."

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON, 1900.

12. *The South African Conspiracy, or the Aims of Afrikanderdom*, by FRED W. BELL, F.S.S. The author describes himself as "a Scotchman by birth, a South African by adoption, and an Uitlander by force of circumstances." He has formed his opinion after having been eight years in the Eastern province of the Cape Colony, nine years in and around Cape Town, and one year in Northern Bechuanaland, and for two years domiciled in the Transvaal. The author has therefore had a wide opportunity of observing the progress of events both at the Cape, the late Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. He has gathered together a large number of documents, with a valuable appendix of speeches, the constitution of the Afrikander Bond, telegraphic messages, and articles, all proving that there was a wide conspiracy to throw off all British control, and set up an independent nation in South Africa.

Sir George Grey, Sir Bartle Frere, and Sir Alfred Milner." He has no quarrel with the Free State as represented by President Brand, and he quotes a remarkable speech by him, warning his people against the Afrikander Bond. He said: "According to my conception, the constitution of the Afrikander Bond appears desirous of exalting itself above the established Government, and of forming an *imperium in imperio*." Mr. Bell sums up the whole in these words: Mr. Kruger, "by his acts and influence and harmonizing his policy with the aims of Afrikanderdom, has thrown away opportunities of strengthening his position, and in the end has brought ruin to the Governments of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, to say nothing of poverty, trouble, and desolation to thousands of people in all parts of South Africa." We desire to direct special attention to the various documents in the appendix, which amply confirms the author's opinions and statements.

13. *Sport in War*, by MAJOR-GENERAL R. S. S. BADEN-POWELL, F.R.G.S. This charmingly-got-up volume consists of various articles contributed to the *Badminton Magazine*. The editor has wisely published them in book form, and they will be read with keen interest, not only because the author is now famous, but also because of the intrinsic merit of the articles. They embrace hunting stories, and experiences both in India and South Africa. "The Ordeal of the Spear" is dramatic and pathetic. The nineteen illustrations are all executed by the author himself. In short, everyone who has a spark of sport in his soul will read the volume with extreme interest and pleasure.

14. *Voices in the Night.* MRS. F. A. STEEL has added to her laurels by another charming Anglo-Indian novel. She is an enthusiast as regards India, its inhabitants, and customs, and one finds always new information and out-of-the-way knowledge in her very readable books. One of the principal features in the story is a young Brahman, who has been in England, has lost caste, has returned to India married to his landlady's daughter, and is, of course, not received by his family, but treated like an outcast. This touches on a question—the dangers of sending Indian youths to Europe—the difficulties of which have as yet to be solved.

Mrs. Steel's force lies less in portrayal of character, or casting of the plot, than in her life-like descriptions of things as they appear, which renders her works exceedingly interesting.

J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG; LEIPZIG, 1900.

15. *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, by E. SACHAU. This is an interesting narrative of the author's travels during the winter 1897-98, when specially deputed by the Prussian Government to undertake a preparatory journey on behalf of the Archæological Commission for the exploration of the regions between the Tigris and the Euphrates. He recommends that their efforts should be concentrated especially on Elkasr, the mighty ruins of the palace where Nebuchadnezzar resided, and Alexander the Great died. This recommendation has already been followed up with great success, by the German Orient Society (Deutsche O[illegible]

Basra, which took him a fortnight. The ancient town of Basra, founded by the Khalifa Omar and one of the oldest centres of Arab learning, lies three hours inland. Dr. Sachau at first intended to cross the Arabian desert at the point where the Shatt-el-Hai merges into the Euphrates, and where there are mounds of the oldest period not far asunder; but he encountered too many difficulties, and had to make Baghdad the starting-point of his expedition, returning viâ Mosul, Deir, Aleppo, and Alexandretta. The book will prove of intense interest to archæologists, and encourage further exploration in the same direction. It is well illustrated, and accompanied with excellent maps and a list of geographical names.

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE "VAISHYA HITKARI"; MEERUT.

16. *Hinduism, Ancient and Modern*, by RAI BAHADUR LALA BAIJNATH RAI, B.A. It is somewhat difficult to understand the object of this interesting and well-written little volume. It contains, first, articles on caste, ceremonies (Sanskaras), the life of Hindus in ancient and modern times, asceticism, the Sraddha, and suggestions for reforms. Then follow some chapters on heroes and hero-worship, in which Rama and Krishna are treated of as if they were real historical personages, and their characters are held up as a pattern for modern Hindus to imitate. This thesis is illustrated by accounts of the lives of several mythical persons mentioned in ancient Indian literature, all of whom are written of as though they had really existed, and were not mere poetical creations. It is strange, for instance, to read a discussion as to the life and character of Yudhishthira or Bhishma in the language one would use of some modern celebrity. The book closes with two chapters on "Philosophy" and "Life after Death."

The author is evidently a would-be reformer, who proceeds not on the lines of the Brahmo Somaj, or any other modern reformers, but by a process of his own, "adapting ancient institutions to modern circumstances, retaining so much of the old as is suited to modern times, and gradually making the necessary changes in the remainder"—putting new wine into old bottles, in fact, with the inevitable result, as shown in the young Bengal, that we know only too well. J. B.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON, 1900.

17. *Origin of the Anglo-Boer War Revealed: the Conspiracy of the Nineteenth Century Unmasked*, by C. H. THOMAS, of Belfast, Transvaal, formerly Orange Free State Burgher. The author, neither pro-Boer nor anti-Boer, nor an Englishman, but a foreigner born of Continental parents, and brought up in Europe, but resident in the Transvaal, tells his story in a simple and straightforward manner. The object of his book is to "lay bare the wicked and delusive aims of the Afrikander Bond combination, to which the Anglo-Boer war alone is attributable." He was prevented for a time leaving the Transvaal, but ultimately sailed for London in order to publish the book. He says: "Though too late to serve as a deterrent,

and widen the avenue of peace and of conciliation between Boer and Briton, who were duped and victimized alike." He holds and proves that it was a "coterie in Holland who devised all the Bond mischief at a safe distance. The Hollanders in South Africa were, nevertheless, their eager abettors and sedulous henchmen," the object being to "*drive the English into the sea out of Africa.*" Mr. Thomas, besides proving this point, gives much interesting information on the habits and training of the people, and explains their preparedness for the war, and their resolute determination to continue it to the end. The work is of great importance at the present time, and will, we consider, open up an avenue of peace when the inhabitants become convinced that they have been deluded, and that under the British rule, peace, goodwill, rights, and liberty will be protected. We most earnestly commend the work.

LUZAC AND CO, LONDON; AND W. P. VAN STOCKUM AND SON, THE HAGUE.

18. *Facts and Fancies about Java*, by AUGUSTA DE WIT. Within the limits of 266 pages the authoress, in a series of charming sketches, gives her impressions of "that enchanted garden that men call Java." The social life among the Europeans is not unlike the one prevailing in India —a mode of life comfortable and even luxurious, but monotonous in the extreme. Most fascinating reading is the chapter on "Glimpses of Native Life." The Malay practically lives out of doors. "His supple, sinewy frame, his dark skin, the far-away look in his eyes, the very shape of his feet, with the short, strong toes—his whole appearance—suggest a background of trees and brushwood, and the bare brown earth. And the scenery of Java, with its strange colouring, its luxuriant vegetation, its abrupt changes in the midst of apparent monotony, lacks the final, completing touch in the absence of dusky figures moving through it. Landscape and people are each other's natural complement and explanation. Hence the picturesque and poetic charm of the Javanese out-of-doors."

Notwithstanding the hard facts of the enervating climate, alternating droughts and inundations, fever-breathing monsoons, Java, as the writer says, is a land of dreams and fancies, of legends and romance.

The book is interspersed with numerous illustrations, and is *well*, though occasionally *mis*printed.

MADRAS; 1899.

19. *The Vedanta-Sutras with the Sri Bhāshya of Rāmānuja Achārya*, translated into English by M. RANGACHARYA, M.A., and M. B. VARADARĀJA AIYANGAR, B.A., B.L. Vol. I. Two learned gentlemen of Madras here present us with a translation into excellent English of Rāmānuja's great commentary on the Vedanta. It would be impossible to review adequately within moderate compass a work of such deeply abstruse philosophical character. The mere "analytical outline of its contents" occupies seventy-five pages. But though highly technical in its nature, this introduction, as it may be regarded, is very lucid and well

The school of Vedantic thought which ultimately led to the fuller developments of Buddhism is here copiously, not to say minutely, expounded and elucidated. The notes are also helpful, and apposite. The work is to be completed in three volumes. It is admirably got up, and is altogether creditable to its producers. Whether the enterprise is likely to be remunerative is another question. Works of this kind do not appeal to a very large audience either in India or in Europe, and the "Sacred Books of the East" Series has already occupied a very large place in this department of science. The "world's appreciation of India's philosophic integrity and religious earnestness" is not likely, we fear, to be manifested by any considerable demand for works on so large a scale or of such a technical nature.

J. B.

K. P. NATH, THE MONGULGUNJE MISSION PRESS; CALCUTTA.

20. *Keshub: the Reconciler of Pure Hinduism and Pure Christianity*, by PANDIT GOUR GOBIND ROY UPADHYAYA. This work is the result of a paper read at the Albert Hall, Calcutta. It is important, as bringing out in a very striking and forcible manner the analogies of the doctrines and principles of pure Hinduism and those of pure Christianity. We can only quote one passage. Keshub's view of the Hindu belief of the "Spirit God" and the "Holy Spirit" of the Christian is thus described: "In 'Yoga,' or Communion with God. We see it written in the earliest or Vedic period. Communion with God in Nature, this is objective yoga. In the Vedantic period, communion with God in the soul, this is subjective yoga. In the Puranic period, communion with God in history, or with the God of Providence; this is Bhakti, or Bhakti yoga. In Hindu theology there is a Trinity something similar to Christianity, the only difference being in the order of development. In Christianity we have the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; in Hinduism we have the Father, the Holy Spirit, and then the Son." We commend this paper to all religious men, both Hindu and Christian.

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

21. *Village Life in China: a Study in Sociology*, by ARTHUR H. SMITH, D.D., author of "Chinese Characteristics." The author, from an extensive experience of Chinese life, has written an exhaustive treatise on Chinese villages, as the units of the Celestial Empire. He has formed a profound respect "for the numerous admirable qualities" of the people, and entertains for many of them a high personal respect. There are, however, he thinks, many disabilities which must be removed. Commerce, diplomacy, extension of political relations, and the growing contact with Occidental civilization have, all combined, proved totally inadequate to accomplish any such reformation as China needs, and the object of this work is to aid to a fuller comprehension by the people. The book is divided into two large sections, the first treating of the village, its institutions, usage, and public characters, and the second on village family life. There are also

Chinese is full of bewildering and inexplicable variety. No matter how long one may have lived in China, there is always just as much as ever that he never before heard of, but which everyone is supposed to have known by intuition. The oldest resident is a student, like the rest." And he is of opinion that "the social organization is admirable and beautiful, but the principles that underlie it are utterly inert. When Christianity shows the Chinese for the first time what these traditional principles really mean, the theories will begin to take shape as possibilities, even as the bones of Ezekiel's vision took on flesh. Then it will more clearly appear how great an advantage the Chinese race has enjoyed in its lofty moral code. . . . When once the Chinese have grasped the practical truth of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the starlight of the past will have been merged into the sunlight of the future." The work is full of interesting information in every department of social life, and the perusal of it will prove most valuable to all who take an enlightened and patriotic interest in the welfare of this great empire.

ORIENTAL PRESS; SHANGHAI.

22. *Le Haut Yang-tsze*, by REV. S. CHEVALIER, S.J. In our last issue we gave a short notice of this extremely valuable work, with the present fascicule of which is circulated the following notice:

"L'Atlas total, composé de 64 cartes, plus une carte d'assemblage, se trouve complété par l'envoi du présent fascicule.

"La seconde partie du texte actuellement sous presse sera expédiée dans quelques mois."

As a matter of fact, the twenty-six sheets now before us complete the survey from Chungking, where we in the April number left it, to P'ing-shan Pa, the highest point attained by Blakiston, and the limit of navigability for steamers, close to the spot where the river Hêng carries the Yun Nan trade from the celebrated mart of Lao-wa T'an almost up to the Great River; the position is well marked on Dr. Bretschneider's map. It is impossible to speak too highly of the present extraordinarily painstaking and self-sacrificing work, which is of the greatest possible utility to prospectors, navigators, merchants, and missionaries alike. In fact, it is one of the great works of the century, and the Jesuits ought to be gratified to think that their order has been able to render to humanity, through Père Chevalier, a service against which no jealous religious or political cavil can possibly be raised.

With these twenty-six main sheets on a scale of $\frac{1}{250000}$ (each covering a printed area of four square feet), there is issued an extra sheet, or key, on a scale of $\frac{1}{1500000}$, showing in a comparative way that the whole course of the Loire from Roanne to St. Nazaire is barely two-thirds of the length of the Upper Yangtsze from Ichang to P'ing-shan. Moreover this extra sheet divides off the section into sixty-four portions, so that anyone desirous of consulting the configuration of any particular rapid or bank can at once

copies for the immediate use of its mining experts and prospectors; it will be a most profitable investment.

Finally, there are two extra sheets containing (in French and English) a preface, a list of signs and abbreviations, and a table of the sixty-four stations with latitudes, longitudes, and methods of determination all clearly stated. The author took over 800 readings of sun or star altitudes, without counting 450 meridian transits of stars, and without counting observations taken between Shanghai and Ichang. All this will be explained in greater detail in the final *résumé* or appendix, which, as the above French notice tells us, will be ready in the summer, and which will also correct every minor inaccuracy. E. H. P.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

23. *Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessments in India*, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E., Lecturer on Indian History at University College, London, etc. Professor Dutt in this work has endeavoured, briefly and clearly, to explain the fiscal history of the five great provinces of India and the condition of the cultivators of the soil in those provinces. He points out to the English reader the necessity of keeping in view the fact that the land system is different in the various provinces. The appendix occupies about two-thirds of the volume (about 330 pages), containing very valuable documents, to which references are made, including letters of high officials in India, minutes, reports on commissions, and speeches, all bearing on the important question which the author clearly and simply discusses. His statements and opinions merit high consideration, from the circumstance that they are the result of a lifelong study of the actual condition of the Indian cultivators in their villages, and he seeks to describe the real and deep-seated causes of their chronic poverty and indebtedness. He also endeavours to represent the views and opinions of the most thoughtful of his countrymen. Our space is so limited that we can only further refer to the letter of Mr. Pennington on the subject elsewhere in our pages, and to Professor Dutt's communication with which he has favoured us.

SWAN SONNENSCHEIN AND CO.; LONDON.

24. *Fort St. George, Madras*, by MRS. FRANK PENNY, 1900. Although the result of considerable reading and research, this work, owing to its pleasant, easy style, is in no way dull or heavy. The story of Madras, as told by Mrs. Penny, is very interesting, and at times even amusing. The many illustrations from the author's drawings are a valuable addition to the letterpress. But from the historian's or antiquarian's point of view, the permanent value of the book lies in the lists of names compiled from the monuments in the old cemetery, from those in St. Mary's cemetery (down to the end of 1810), and the list of persons buried in St. Mary's Church. We believe that these lists are quite new, if so, they ought to prove of value hereafter. Many of the crests and coats of arms have been

find a curious side-light thrown on the old legend of Job Charnock, the rescued Sati he made his wife, and the yearly sacrifice of a cock on her tomb. While on a visit to Madras in 1689, he caused three children—his little girls—to be baptized. And as no mother is named, we may infer that she was probably an Indian. Thus Charnock was:

> "Although a heathen in the carnal part,
> A sad, good Christian at the heart"—

at any rate, to the extent of having his children baptized—a fact which seems to give Mrs. Penny, as a good chaplain's wife, considerable satisfaction. W. I.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Problem in China, and British Policy, by A. R. COLQUHOUN, author of "Overland to China," etc. (P. S. King and Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster, 1900). This work, though short—covering only fifty pages—deserves the study of our merchants and statesmen interested in the affairs of China. There is a distinct and well-executed map, showing the Empire of China, the adjacent countries—specially India—the railways made and proposed to be made, and a diagram of our trade with China compared with that of other countries. The author advocates a league to be formed for the education of the people of England with the view of informing them of the vast interests at stake. He says: "No questions of party politics, or of private interest, must influence us, for our one great object is simply to awaken the country to a full understanding of our vital interests in China, interests which are far wider than even the commercial question, great though that be." We most cordially invite earnest attention to this very useful summary of what ought to be our policy in China, with the view of not only promoting the welfare of China, but also of protecting and advancing our interests there.

Little Indabas: Stories of Kaffir, Boer, and Natal Life, by J. MAC ("The Over-Seas Library") (T. Fisher Unwin, London). This small volume contains rollicking stories of some of the bad phases of Kaffir, Boer, and white man's life in South Africa.

L'arabo Parlato in Egitto, by CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, Professor of the Royal Oriental Institute of Naples (Ulrico Hoepli, Milan). This is a handy pocket volume of nearly 400 pages, consisting of an Arabic grammar and dialogues, with a useful list of about 6,000 words of the language as spoken in Egypt. There is no Arabic text. The author has adopted the conventional signs used by Arabists in giving the pronunciation in Italian. Needless to say this work will prove of much help to visitors, as well as residents in Egypt.

Bacon's New Large-Print Map of China (G. W. Bacon and Co., 127, Strand, London). A very useful and well-executed map, which contains also large-scale insert maps of Peking, Taku forts to Peking, Gulf of Pechili, Shanghai, Hong-Kong, and Canton, also a key-map showing the routes to China. It is produced in two forms, the one in cloth case and

The Chinese Question: Bartholomew's Special Map of China and the East, 1900 (John Bartholomew and Co., the Geographical Institute, Edinburgh). This is a beautiful map, specially prepared in connection with the events in the Far East. The Treaty ports are indicated by red lines. There is also a useful map of Peking, showing the railways that have been opened and those proposed.

Stanford's Map of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and parts of Tripoli, Senegal, and the Military Territories of the Western Sudan (Edward Stanford, Cockspur Street, London). This map, in view of future events in Morocco, is most opportune, and well and beautifully executed. The Eastern boundary of Morocco, as defined by the treaty of March 18, 1846, is shown in orange colour; the South-Western boundary of Morocco, in conformity with the agreement between the Vizier and Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier of March 15, 1895, is shown in the same colour; and British territory in red, French violet, Portuguese brown, Spanish purple, and Turkish green.

New South Wales: Statistics, History, and Resources. This compilation has been ordered by authority of the Government of New South Wales, and is circulated by the Agent-General in London from his chambers in Victoria Street, Westminster. It is full of information, gathered together in the shortest possible space, by the well-known editor of *The Year-Book of Australia*, and is accompanied with an excellent map and gazetteer. A most useful and handy work.

Enteric Fever in India, by D. B. SPENCER, Surgeon-Major I.M.S., reprinted from the *Indian Medical Gazette*, vol. xxxv. (No. 4, April, 1900). A very valuable paper upon the origin of enteric fever. It supplies the evidence of both sides as to the theory of specialists. By Dr. Spencer's arduous and persevering research as to the disease, he has done much to call attention to the etiology of the disease, and has given a great impetus to further investigations.

Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, transcribed from the "Original Correspondence Series" of the India Office Records, vol. iv., 1616. Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London). A valuable and interesting volume, explaining and elucidating many details not found in a general history, and from which history is made. It is well printed, with a copious index, reflecting much credit to the editor.

Handbook to British East Africa and Uganda, by JOHN B. PURVIS, late Director of Technical Instruction in Uganda (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London, 1900). This handbook, containing very pleasing illustrations of peoples, manners, and places, gives a very concise and useful outline of the countries in British East Africa and the protectorate of Uganda, their varied climates, peoples, and conditions, which will be of considerable service to prospective travellers, settlers, and missionaries. There are also skeleton maps, and hints as to "how to live and travel," lists of necessary outfits and their cost, a collection of English phrases,

The Constitution and Laws of Afghanistan, by MIR MUNSHI SULTAN MOHAMMED KHAN, F.R.G.S., Barrister-at-Law, Advanced Student of Christ's College, Cambridge (John Murray, London, 1900). This work is a collection of the laws, both private and constitutional, of Afghanistan, with the view of affording an opportunity of comparing the modern laws of European countries with the immature laws of Afghanistan. The present Amir is the first who has endeavoured to bring order out of chaos, and to put the law of his country into a uniform mould, with the view of enforcing the same throughout the country. The present work is the first attempt to place these laws and constitution in the English language, and this is done in a clear and distinct manner.

Koang-sin et T'se-hi, Empereur de Chine et Impératrice-Douairière. Décrets Impériaux. Par JEROME TOBAR, S J. ("Serie d'Orient"—No. 4) (Oriental Press, Shanghai). This is a French translation of Imperial decrees from June 10, 1898, to February 24, 1899, and its value consists in its being a trustworthy history, or chronicle, of the *coup d'état* period which has now culminated in a great war. The pamphlet is enriched by a preface and explanatory notes by J. Em. Lemière, editor of the Shanghai *Echo de Chine*. Father Tobar has shown great foresight in preparing this volume, which, like all Jesuit work, is of a very thorough-going kind.

Natal and the Boers: the Birth of a Colony, by T. ROWELL (J. M. Dent and Co., Bedford Street, London, 1900). This is a short history of Natal, derived partly by two years' residence in Natal and the Transvaal, and partly from the well-known histories of Theal and Bird, and other sources. It does not enter upon the question of the present war, but narrates briefly the history of Natal from its discovery down to the time when the war began. The author's descriptions of the scenes which he himself witnessed are well told. His short history will be read with interest.

British Enactments in Force in Native States in India (published at the office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1900). These valuable publications have been carefully revised. The volumes before us, relating to Central India, Southern India (Hyderabad), and Rajputana, have been compiled by J. M. MACPHERSON, Secretary to the Legislative Department of the Government of India, and revised and continued by A. WILLIAMS, LL.M., I.C.S. The volume relating to Central India has been brought up to August 1, 1899; that relating to Rajputana to August 15, 1899; and that relating to Southern India to October 15, 1899.

China: Correspondence Respecting the Insurrectionary Movement in China, No. 3, 1900. This important correspondence has been published by Parliament. It begins with a telegraphic message from Sir Claude Macdonald, dated January 4 last, in reference to the murder of Mr. Brooks in Shantung Province, and ends with a telegraphic translation, on July 13, of the Imperial Edict of June 29 respecting the situation, and orders given for the protection of Legations.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following: *The Bombay Plague: being a History of the Progress of Plague in the Bombay Presidency from September*, 1896, *to June*, 1899, compiled under the orders of Government by Captain J. K Condon, I.S.C. (Bombay, Education Society's Steam Press, 1900);—*Report on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the year* 1898-99, also *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1898, vol. xxxvi. (Bombay, Government Central Press, 1900);—*Archæological Survey of India; Lists of Antiquarian Remains in His Highness the Nizam's Territories*, compiled by Henry Cousins, M.R.A.S., Superintendent Archæological Survey, Bombay (Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1900);—*Notes on the Law of Territorial Expansion; with Especial Reference to the Philippines*, by Carman F. Randolph, of the New York Bar (the De Vinne Press, New York City);—*The South African Crisis*, by Professor A. Kuyper, D.D., LL.D., reprinted from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for February, 1900, translated and prefaced by A. E. Fletcher, first English edition (London, Stop the War Committee, 4, Clock House, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.);—*Cambridge University Library: Report on the Library Syndicate for the year ending December* 31, 1899 (Cambridge, printed at the University Press, 1900);—*Some Questions on the Settlement in South Africa*, by the Right Rev. Allan B. Webb, D.D., sometime Bishop of Bloemfontein, and lately Bishop of Grahamstown (London, Skeffington and Son, Piccadilly, W., 1900);—*Journal of the Buddhist Text and Anthropological Society*, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., vol. vii., Part I., 1900 (Darjeeling, Bengal Secretariat Press; London, Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co., Messrs. Luzac and Co.; published by the Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. v., No. 2 (Bombay, Education Society's Press, Byculla; London, Kegan Paul and Co.);—*La Cina e la questione dell estremo Oriente, due conferenze tenute, a richiesta dell Associazione Nazionale Italiana degli Scienzati, Litterati ed artisti in Napoli il* 22 *e* 29 *luglio*, 1900 (Edizione della Rassegna Italiana, Napoli, 1900);—George Newnes, Limited: *The Captain* for July, August, September—*The Wide World Magazine* for July, August, September—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for July, August, September—*The Strand Magazine* for July, August, September—*The Traveller—Khaki in South Africa*, Parts 2, 3, 4—*Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, Parts 7 and 8 (now completed)—*The Arabian Nights*, Part 20 (now completed);—*The Indian Review* for June, July, August (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras;—*The Argosy* for July, August, and September;—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Contemporary Review* (London, the Columbus Co., Ltd.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London, Archibald Constable and Co.);—*Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, July—September (Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires, Revue*

Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Die Kultur* (Vienna and Stuttgart);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, July, 1900 (London, 38, Conduit Street, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika*, June, July, August, 1900 (Black Town, Madras);—*The Madras Review*, August, 1900 (Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), July, 1900 (University of Chicago Press);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xxx., Part 3 (Alfred Hölder, Vienna);—*The North American Review*, July, August, September (New York);—*The National Magazine* (Babu K. P. Dey, Calcutta);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii., Part II. Hindustani Books, by J. F. Blumhardt, M.A. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900).

For want of space we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *European Settlements in the Far East—China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands, India, Borneo, the Philippines, etc.*, also *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, including that of the French Traders of North-Western Canada and of the North-West X. Y. and Astor Fur Companies*, by George Bryce, M.A., LL.D (London, Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1900);—*British America* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1900);—*South Africa; its History, Heroes, and Wars*, in four books, by Professor W. Douglas Mackenzie, assisted by Alfred Stead (London, Horace Marshall and Son, and the Monarch Book Company, Chicago and Philadelphia);—*Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in* 1860, by the late Henry Brougham Loch (Lord Loch), third edition, also *Leading Points in South African History*, 1486 *to March* 30, 1900, arranged chronologically, with date-index, by Edwin A. Pratt (London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1900);—*The Story of the Australian Bush-rangers*, by George E. Boxall (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1899);—*Sir Stamford Raffles, England in the Far East*, by Hugh Edward Egerton, M.A. (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1900);—*The Practical Study of Languages, a Guide for Teachers and Learners*, by Henry Sweet, M.A., PH.D., LL.D. (London, J. M. Dent and Co., 1899);—*Four Months Besieged, the Story of Ladysmith; being Unpublished Letters from H. H. S. Pearse, the "Daily News" Special Correspondent* (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., New York, the Macmillan Company, 1900);—*China, the Long-lived Empire*, by Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore (New York, the Century Company, 1900);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. i. (Luzac and Co., 1900).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—Cholera still prevails in Ahmadābād, Karachi, Kashmir, Panjāb, and many of the cantonments.

The plague seems to be increasing; over 1,000 deaths occurred in the first week of September. The places most affected are Calcutta, Bombay, and the Central Provinces.

Rain has been general all over the country, and the prospects of the crops have greatly improved, whilst the famine areas have been benefited generally.

On July 17 the total numbers receiving famine relief were 6,148,000. A steady decrease continues, and on September 17 the following totals were registered: Bombay, 1,132,000; Panjāb, 36,000; Central Provinces, 1,756,000; Berar, 189,000; Ajmir Merwara, 54,000; Rajputana States, 111,000; Central India States, 60,000; Bombay Native States, 142,000; Baroda, 53,000; North-West Provinces, 1,000; Panjāb Native States, 20,000; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 34,000; Haidarābād, 279,000; Madras, 4,000; Bengal, 13,000; total, 3,884,000.

The officers and men of the Imperial Service Corps have rendered valuable services in connection with the famine and carrying out relief measures, notably those of Bikanir, Jaipūr, Alwār, Jhind, and Nabha.

The wheat crop this year has been estimated at 4,890,596 tons, against 6,339,603 tons last year.

The opium revenue, which made a good show in the last Budget, promises equally well for the next.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—It is reported that a meeting of Afridi chiefs has been held to decide their action in regard to railways through their country, and it was decided that the railway must be allowed to be constructed to Jamrud.

A raid has been made by a band of Afridis on the Jamrud road, and some tools carried off.

Two local corps have been organized to ultimately replace British troops in WAZIRISTAN. Each consists of 800 men, and is known as the Northern and Southern Waziristan Militia. The former will be commanded by Captain Ferguson Davie, of the Tochi Levies, and the latter by Major Harman, 3rd Sikhs.

Lieutenant-Colonel Muhammad Aslām Khān, C.I.E., late Commandant of the Khaibar Rifles, has been granted a special pension of Rs. 400 a month, in addition to his ordinary pension, by the Secretary of State in recognition of his exceptionally meritorious services on the North-West frontier.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The Government having recognised the succession of Rao Raja Sawant Singh, the second son of H.H. the Maharaja of Orcha, and adopted son of the late Maharaja Bhan Partab

An application from the Maharaja of Patiala for the services of a financial adviser as a temporary measure is under the consideration of the Government. His Highness has commenced carrying out such reforms as seemed to him necessary for his State.

The Government has been compelled to remove the Maharaja of Bharatpur from power. He will, however, continue to reside in the State under surveillance, receiving a suitable allowance. His infant son will succeed as Maharaja. The Diwan, as heretofore, will administer the State.

The young Prince of Bhurtpur has been installed on the *gadi*.

An agreement has been made between the Gaekwar of Baroda and the British Government, under which the native currency of the Baroda State will be gradually changed into British India currency.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior has fitted up a hospital ship for the use of the Indian troops in China. Colonel A. M. Crofts, I.M.S., is in charge.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, who has endowed the Indian People's Famine Trust with 15 lacs, has decided to increase his generous gift thus: The present price of Government paper being between Rs. 94 and Rs. 95, His Highness has directed the purchase of promissory notes of the face value of 16 lacs. This will form the endowment of the fund.

The marriage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore took place in June last.

Mr. Thumbo Chetty, senior counsellor to the Maharani Regent, has been appointed to act as Diwan of Mysore during the absence on sick leave of Sir Seshadri Iyer.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala has offered to the Panjāb Government the use of his troops for service in China.

The Jodhpur Lancers, commanded by Major Turner, with Sir Partab Singh and staff, embarked at Calcutta for China on August 25.

The Maharaja of Bikanir has been granted the honorary rank of Major in the British Army. He will be attached to a Bengal Cavalry regiment.

The Raja of Nabha has given Rs. 10,000 to the Transvaal War Fund in honour of Lord Roberts' occupation of Pretoria.

CEYLON.—The total export of tea from January 1 to June 12 this year was, to the United Kingdom, 50,362,473 lb., against 42,671,212 lb. during the same period last year; to all other countries, 14,082,747 lb., against 10,273,436 lb. during the same period in 1899.

The revenue for the first six months of the current year amounted to Rs. 13,119,961·10, as against Rs. 12,015,611·44 in the corresponding period of last year.

The mortality from rinderpest, notably in the Kalutara, Negombo, Ruanwella, and Dehiowita districts, is very great. It is hoped that inoculation will result in the stamping out of this terrible cattle scourge.

BALUCHISTAN.—The trade by the Nushki route to Persia in April, 1898, was valued at Rs. 31,000 only. In 1899 it was Rs. 38,000, and in April

ville. After visiting Paris and the Exhibition, he made a protracted stay in Belgium. His Majesty has put off his visit to England to another occasion on account of the Court being in mourning for the late Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. He is now returning to Teheran through Austria, Turkey, and the Caucasus.

Sir Arthur Henry Hardinge, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Minister at Teheran in succession to Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, who becomes H.M.'s representative at Madrid.

AFGHANISTAN.—The short-sighted policy of the Amir in imposing heavy fiscal burdens upon the trade between India and Afghanistan viâ Dakka and the Khaibar country is having bad results. For example, the tax on sheep is so high that the numbers exported in 1899-1900 fell from 16,137 to 6,132. The Amir has recently struck off about 2 lacs of new gold coin.

Cholera broke out very severely in June at Kabul, but it has now almost disappeared.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The British Vice-Consul at Van, Captain Maunsell, was recently attacked by Kurds whilst travelling in his district. His dragoman was wounded and his baggage stolen. Turkish troops proceeded to capture the Kurds. After a prolonged fight the baggage and animals were recovered.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—On account of the disturbances in China, the Russian Government formed a new army corps, numbering about 40,000 men, in Siberia, and also mobilized her troops in the territories of the Amur, the Ussuri, and the maritime province of the Russian Pacific coast. In consequence of the transport of troops over the Siberian railway, migration from Russia has been stopped.

Some thirty miles of the Transcaspian railway has been washed away by heavy rains, temporarily cutting off communication between the Caspian and Turkestan.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND MALAYA.—The Government has received tenders for opium and spirit farms in Singapore, Penang, and Malacca for three years, commencing next January, amounting to $4,620,000 per annum, an increase of $1,500,000 on present farms.

PHILIPPINES.—Colonel Grassa has surrendered with his command, numbering 182 officers and men, at Tayug.

SIAM.—Queen Victoria, as Empress of India, has been enabled by Oriental antiquaries to make a friendly gift of the first importance to the King of Siam, viz., the ashes of Gautama Buddha, found in the sub-Himalayan district of Bhasti. These ashes were in three urns, and the King has sent one of them to the large body of his co-religionists in Ceylon.

CHINA.—The situation when we went to press with our last issue was that the Legations in Peking were invested by the Boxers, and that an attempt of Admiral Seymour to advance with a mixed relief force had failed owing to the destruction of the railway and the resistance of the enemy. He was entirely cut off from his base, and at the same time the foreign

Admiral Seymour and his party, having been surrounded about ten miles distant from Tien-tsin, were relieved also and enabled to return.

The reported massacre of the Legations, due to Chinese reports, has happily proved to be unfounded, but the German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, was murdered by Imperial troops whilst on his way to the Tsung-li-Yamên. Then followed the siege and bombardment of the Legations by the Boxers from June 25 to July 16. On August 3 a cipher message was received stating that since July 16 an intermittent rifle-fire had been kept up on the Legations. The allied forces, consisting of several columns, eventually started from Tien-tsin for the capital. Yang-tun was occupied by them on August 6, Ho-si-wu on 9th, Ma-tou on 10th, Chang-kia-wun on 11th, Tung-chan on 12th, and Peking was entered on August 15. After a stubborn resistance on the part of the Chinese, the Legations were relieved. Fighting afterwards took place in the streets, but by the 17th the whole city was in complete possession of the Allies. The British casualties whilst defending the Legation, in which most of the other Legations had taken refuge, were five killed and twenty-one wounded. Among the killed were Captain Strouts, K.M.L.I.; Mr. D. Oliphant, Consular Assistant; Mr. H. Warren, student interpreter; and the Rev. Huberley James.

The siege lasted two months. The total casualties amongst the defenders were 67 killed and 120 wounded.

The Imperial Family and the Court fled from the city on August 13 to the province of Shen-si.

Prince Ching has intimated to the Powers that he is fully authorized, together with Li Hung Chang, to negotiate for peace, and has expressed a desire to open negotiations at once. The foreign Ministers in Peking held a meeting, and decided that they had no power to treat with him.

Sir R. Hart has indicated to the Generals that they must be prepared for future hostilities, and that further trouble may be looked for by November.

The Emperor is said to be anxious to return to Peking and make proper reparation. The Empress-Dowager is said to be willing to return if protection is given.

On the other hand, the Chinese forces in Manchuria attacked the Russian garrisons on the line of railway, and bombarded Blagovestchensk. Fighting became general at various places along the Amur. Russian houses and churches at Urga in Mongolia were burnt. On July 28 the Russians captured the important town of San-sing, at the junction of the rivers Sungari and Mudan Zian, and on August 3 the town of Aigun, opposite Blagovestchensk. On August 12 they also captured Hai-cheng, and the right bank of the Amur is now entirely in their hands. The railway-line for 2,000 versts along the frontier is guarded by Cossacks of the reserve.

The disposition of the Mongol nomads towards the Russians is peaceful and friendly.

The Tartar General, Shang-shau, is collecting a large body of troops in

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THE IMPERIAL

AND

ASIATIC QUARTERLY

REVIEW

AND

Oriental and Colonial Record.

THIRD SERIES—VOLUME X. **Nos. 19 & 20.**

JULY—OCTOBER, 1900.

"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

Woking:

was 62,000, of which 22,000 were Russian, 19,000 Japanese, and 5,000 British.

As there is no Government in Peking, the Russian Government has decided to withdraw its forces to Tien-tsin.

Operations are being carried out against the Boxers in the vicinity of the capital, and a joint expedition of British, Germans, and French has been planned for the purpose of patrolling the country.

The Pei-tang and Lutai Forts have been captured by the Allies.

News is to hand that on July 9 all the missionaries (men, women, and children) in the Shan-si province were massacred, the Governor, Yu Hsien, on the pretence of guaranteeing them a safe conduct to the coast, invited them to his Yamên at Tai-yuen-fu, where they were hacked to pieces.

An Imperial edict has proclaimed Si-ngan-fu to be the new capital.

Generals Ching and Chang with 15,000 men are in Shan-tung.

Sir E. Swatow succeeds Sir Claude Macdonald as Minister in Peking, the latter taking up the former's appointment at Tokio.

KOREA.—The Seoul-Chemulpho railway has been completed.

JAPAN.—On July 17 the volcano Mount Adsuma, near Bandal San, the eruption of which in 1888 caused great loss of life, broke out into violent eruption. Two hundred persons are reported to have been killed or injured.

A new political association has been formed by Marquis Ito with the object of contributing to the successful working of the constitutional system. Over 150 Members of Parliament have already joined it.

EGYPT.—A decree published July 23 authorized the further issue of Privileged Debt to the amount of £E1,700,000, bearing interest at 3½ per cent. The proceeds of the loan are to be paid over to the Caisse of the Egyptian Public Debt and employed in railway extension.

CAPE COLONY.—Under the Treason Bill, which is also known as the Indemnity and Special Tribunals Bill, the penalty for rebellion is five years' disfranchisement. It provides an indemnity for all acts done by the Governor and the military authorities in the interests of public safety.

Sir Alfred Milner, in his speech at the opening of the Cape Parliament on July 20, said that he anticipated an early termination of the war, and subsequently a united and prosperous South Africa. Sir J. G. Sprigg anticipated a great development when the country was united under the British flag. No fresh taxation would be necessary during the current year.

The estimated expenditure for this year was £7,225,026, and the revenue £7,252,000. The Government proposed to raise loans for harbour works, railway rolling stock, irrigation, etc., to the amount of £2,582,000.

SOUTH AFRICA.—In the middle of July Mr. Wolmarans was arrested at Pretoria. A quantity of arms and bar gold of the value of £12,000 was found concealed in his house. In spite of his having taken the oath of neutrality, he was found serving on a commando.

Over [illegible] in the Orange River Colony have been occupied in surround-

crossed the Vaal River on August 6, followed by Lord Kitchener. Finding it hopeless to make his way eastward with his guns and waggons, he recrossed the Megaliesberg with a few men to the Orange River Colony.

A force of over 4,000 Boers under General Prinsloo surrendered unconditionally to General Hunter at Naauwport, near Bethlehem, on July 30.

The garrison of Elands River, under Colonel Hore, consisting of Bushmen, Rhodesians, and Rhodesian Volunteers, having been hard pressed by the Boers, General Carrington attempted to relieve them with a small force, but had to retire to Mafeking. The post was eventually relieved by Lord Kitchener on August 16.

Lord Methuen has been employed in clearing the country between Krugersdorp and Rustenberg. He dispersed the enemy at Oliphant's Nek with heavy loss. Rustenberg, which was surrounded by the Boers, was thereby relieved, and Methuen and Baden-Powell joined hands.

On August 26 General Bruce Hamilton captured at Winburg General Ollivier and his three sons.

At the end of July Lord Roberts commenced to advance eastward on Machadodorp. General Buller moved northward from Paardekop on August 7, the enemy under Christian Botha retiring and maintaining a running fight. Amersfoort was occupied on August 7, Klippart Drift on the 9th, and Ermels on the 11th.

A combined movement was made against the concentrated Boer commandos under Louis Botha on August 26. General Pole-Carew occupied Belfast, where Lord Roberts proceeded and met Generals Pole-Carew, Buller, and French. The advance resulted in the capture of Bergendal, near Dalmanutha railway-station. The work fell entirely on General Buller's troops, who occupied Machadodorp on August 28. Two days later the Boers released over 1,700 British prisoners at Nooitgedacht.

Lord Roberts has issued a proclamation announcing the annexation of the Transvaal to the British Colonies under the name of the Vaal River Colony. Another proclamation was also issued on September 5 to the inhabitants of the Orange River Colony reminding them that they are now subjects of the Queen, and warning them of the penalties which will be incurred by those who continue in arms, especially those who have taken the oath of submission.

General French occupied Barberton on September 13, meeting with slight opposition. He released the British prisoners there, 23 officers and 59 men, and captured over 100 Boers.

Ex-President Kruger has fled to Lorenzo Marques, where he is under the surveillance of the Portuguese authorities, and Botha has been obliged to give over his command to Viljoen on account of ill-health. Mr. Steyn has gone in the direction of Swaziland.

Just before going to press the news bears evidence of the confusion and dismay that has overtaken the Boers. Their operations are now confined to a comparatively limited stretch of country adjoining the Portuguese frontier, and they are quite unable to effect a lodgment anywhere. Heavy fighting is taking place at Komati Poort, and the Portuguese have been

ing their territory. It is rumoured that Viljoen is desirous of surrendering. The general opinion is that Kruger's flight signifies the speedy end of the war.

Lord Roberts is expected to leave Pretoria for England on October 3. He will visit the battlefields of Natal on his way home.

WEST AFRICA.—Sir F. Hodgson, with 600 native soldiers under Major Morris, left Kumassi on June 23, and arrived without much opposition safely at Accra. He left Captain Bishop and Mr. Ralph behind, with rations sufficient for three weeks.

Colonel Willcocks, who had been advancing to relieve the place, encountered many difficulties, such as flooded rivers and want of transport. After several engagements with the enemy, he reached Bekwai on July 9, and relieved Kumassi on July 15.

A rebel force 5,000 strong was severely defeated by our troops under Major Beddoes on July 30, fifteen miles east of Dompoassi. Our losses were four European officers and a sergeant, and thirty native soldiers wounded.

ALGIERS.—Rabah, the ex-Sultan of Bornu, and a former slave of Zobehr Pasha, has been killed in a struggle with the French, aided by Bornu refugees, at Kusli, on the Shari River. The French have placed Omar Ibn Ibrahim Omar on the Bornu throne.

CANADA.—Parliament was prorogued on July 18, after a Session which was the longest but one in the history of the Dominion. Among the Acts passed were a Copyright Act, an Act to perfect the Canadian banking system, the extension of the British preference tariff, and a Conciliation Act for the purpose of improving the condition of the working classes.

The Governor-General has proceeded on a three months' tour in Western Canada, including the Yukon district.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30 was $2,070,000, this being the largest ever received.

As the Ministry persists in its refusal to permit Mr. Reid to transfer his railway concessions to a limited liability company, he proposes to convert his separate properties into separate companies.

The St. Pierre fishery has been the worst for many years, and a recent storm has wrought great damage to the fishing fleet. Although the loss of life was small, over fifty vessels were wrecked, and several are missing.

AUSTRALASIA.—The Federation Act received the Royal Assent on July 9. It is entitled the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 63 and 64 Vict., cap. 12. The formal proclamation was published on September 19.

The Earl of Hopetoun has been appointed Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth.

The Duke and Duchess of York will visit the Australasian Colonies next spring. His Royal Highness will bear Her Majesty's Commission to open in her name the first Session of the Federation Parliament. This announcement has excited great enthusiasm among the people.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Last year's revenue exceeded that of the previous year by £115.000. The revenue for the coming year is estimated at £2,869,000, or £88,000 over last year. Under the expenditure, provision is made for £10,000 for the expense of the South African contingents and local defences.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last amounted to £2,875,395, against £2,478,811 for the previous year.

The railway earnings for the same period amounted to £3,163,572, and the expenditure to £1,769,520.

QUEENSLAND.—Much rain has fallen over the drought-stricken part of Queensland, and the drought has been completely broken up.

TASMANIA.—The Budget speech was delivered on July 18 in the House of Assembly. The Treasurer, Mr. Bird, dealt with the years 1899, 1900, and 1901. For 1899 the value of imports reached £1,769,000, and the exports £2,577,000. The total revenue was £944,000, and the expenditure £871,500. The revenue for the first half of 1900 reached £505,000; the total for the year is expected to attain £1,040,000, and the expenditure £926,000. The revenue for 1901 is estimated at £1,046,000, and the expenditure at £973,000. The surplus for 1899, 1900, and 1901, amounting to £258,000, will entirely extinguish the deficiency in the revenue and expenditure accounts, which six years ago amounted to £455,000.

NEW ZEALAND.—Mr. T. Duncan has been appointed Minister of Lands and Agriculture, in place of Mr. J. McKenzie, who has retired on account of ill-health.

For the past year, including a balance of £45,000 from the previous year, the revenue over expenditure amounted to £605,000. The estimated expenditure for the current year is £5,441,000, or £301,000 more than last year. The revenue is estimated at £5,468,000. A loan of £1,000,000 for public works is about to be raised.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of the following:—Sir Charles Sargent, formerly Chief Justice in Bombay;—Major-General J. G. Harkness (Crimea, South Africa 1864-66, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Major-General Sir S. W. Jephson, C.B. (Afghan war 1838-42, Mahratta war 1844, China 1860);—General T. Gillilan, late Madras Staff Corps (Rangoon 1852);—General J. G. Cookson, late Indian Army;—Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith, R.E., K.C.M.G., Director of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (Director of Persian Telegraphs from 1865 to 1885;—Captain H. W. H. Beyts, R.M.A., killed near Tien-tsin;—Lady Low, wife of Lieutenant-General Sir R. C. Low, commanding Bombay forces;—Mr. Cowasjee Dinshaw, C.I.E., a prominent Parsi of Bombay;—Raja Rama Vurma, of Parpanad, a member of the Travancore family;—Hon. A. R. Dickey, ex-Minister of Justice, Canada;—Major C. J. Cockburn, 1st Batt. Royal Warwickshire Regt. (Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85, Sudan);—M. de Blignières formerly Controll[illegible]

2nd Royal West Kent Regt. (Chitral Relief Force 1895);—T. W. Barrow, Inspector-Gral of Hospitals (Sind 1843, Southern Mahratta war 1844, Concan campaign 1845, Kaffir war 1852-53, Crimea);—Lieutenant-Colonel B. Humfrey, late Bombay Staff Corps (Afghan war 1880);—Colonel A. Phillips, late Indian Army (China);—Colonel Doyne, formerly 4th Dragoon Guards (Chitral);—Mr. C. H. Ryall, East Africa Protectorate Service;—Major-General Sir Charles Walters D'Oyly (Gwalior and Mutiny campaigns);—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Tyrwitt, member of the Dominion House of Commons;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Chalmers, Indian Staff Corps, retired (Jowaki expedition 1877, Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1886-88);—The Earl of Cavan (Crimea, Canton 1856);—Rev. J. D. Ozanne, B.A., Bombay Ecclesiastical Establishment;—Mr. J. F. Vanrenen, Pabna Police;—Lieutenant-Colonel M. T. Lyde, Indian Staff Corps, the Administrator of the Radhanpur State (Zulu campaign 1879, Afghanistan 1880);—Captain Strouts, R.M.L.I., and Mr. David Oliphant (both killed in the defence of the Legation at Peking);—Sir Thomas McIlwraith, K.M.G., LL.D., formerly Premier and Colonial Secretary of Queensland;—Rear-Admiral V. O. Inglefield (St. Jean d'Acre 1840);—General J. R. McMullin, Indian Staff Corps (Gwalior campaign 1843, Panjāb 1848-49 Mutiny);—Captain D. R. Younger, in South Africa (Chitral Relief Force, Tirah 1897-98);—Mr. J. E. McMaster, the British Consul at Beirut—Deputy Inspector-General Rinso R. Siccama, R.N. (Straits of Malaca, Egypt 1882);—Captain G. P. Campbell, 25th Bengal Infantry (Haza and Isazai expeditions);—Brigade-Surgeon T. Wright (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Afghan war 1878-80);—Arthur James Grant, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner in the Panjāb;—Major J. Du Pre Brabazon (Gambia);—Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel W. Wellington Lake, at Bloemfontein;—Lieutenant-General Craven Hildesley Dickens, formerly Secretary, P.W.D. Indian Government;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Russell (Sind, New Zealand);—Captain W. Glyster, 1st Batt. Royal Irish Regt., in South Africa (Hazara expedition 1888);—Major-General N. H. Harris, late Royal Artillery (Crimea, Afghan war, 1879-80);—H. E. Fendall Currie, 14th Sikhs (Malakand and Tirah operations 1897-98);—Mr. Baynes, Magistrate of Gaya, British North Borneo;—Mr. John Nugent, member of the Bombay Council;—Sir Richard Wood, G.C.M.G., C.B., late Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General to the Regency of Tunis;—Surgeon-Major W. Johnston Stuart, late 25th Bombay L.I. (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-General Sir W. Lysdale (Afghanistan 1839, Gwalior 1843, Sutlej 1845-46, Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny);—Captain de la Poer Beresford, Rifle Brigade;—Major-General F. J. Ellis, late Bengal Army (Mutiny, Abyssinia);—Surgeon-General J. J. O'Callaghan, late Honourable East India Company's Service (Sutlej, China, Mutiny);—Major-General C. E. Oldershaw, C.B., R.A. (Crimea);—Dr. John Anderson, M.D., LL.D., etc., formerly Superintendent of the Indian Museum, Calcutta;—General A. A. Bayly, R.A. (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Multan)—Major-General C. H. Blunt, C.B., late Bengal H.A. (Sutlej 1846, Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny 1857-59);—Major J. W. Gordon, late Indian Staff Corps (Afghan war 1880);—Colonel

paigns);—Mr. W. J. Wilson, Director-General of Reservoirs Egypt;—Sir William Stokes, an eminent surgeon and consulting sion to the forces in South Africa;—Deputy-Inspector-General J. B. St. ix Crosse, F.R.C.S.E., late 11th Hussars (Crimea);—General Sir John ller Adye, G.C.B., Colonel-Commandant R.A. (Crimea, Mutiny camp n, Afghan Frontier, Bhutan, Egypt 1882);—Major-General J. Moore aham, late Bengal Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, Lushai and Dewangiri peditions); —Colonel G. Hubert Parker, late Gordon Highlanders fghan war 1879-80, Boer war 1881);—The Hon. Samuel Tomkins of South Australia, a well-known authority on banking;—The Sheikh-Islam, the supreme head of the Muhammadan faith in Tunis;—Colone C. Henry, late R.A. (Crimea and Indian Mutiny);—Captain R. E. Campbell, Southern Nigeria service;—Lieutenant J. A. Greer, 3rd Ba West India Regt., killed in action near Kumassi;—Lieutenant-General . Rickman, Colonel Royal Munster Fusiliers (Crimea);—Lieutent-Colonel Spreckley;—The Rev. John Gorton, late Archdeacon of adras;—Sir Saul Samuel, Bart., K.C.M.G., C.B., for many years Agent-Gral for New South Wales;—Captain R. O. M. Doig, R M.L.I. (of miral Sir E. Seymour's Peking relief force);—Captain C. O. Browne, late A. (Crimea); —Major-General R. H. Truell, C.B. (Indian Mutiny cam ign 1857-59, Nepal frontier, Egypt 1882, Sudan 1885);—Mr. Grattan Gry, editor and proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*,—Lieutenant-General T. Ross, late 24th Regt. (Nepal 1859);—Major-General J. M. Sexton, e Indian Staff Corps (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Captain E. G. mpbell, Rifle Brigade, in South Africa (Tochi Field Force 1897-98); Rao Bahadur Karansinghji, Rao of Bedla, a first-class noble of Mer;—Captain Hewlett C. Perkins, late Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantr (Egyptian war 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Captain Sir Alfred Jephson, R.N. (Crimea, China 1857, Japan 1863);—Mr. F. N. Wright, fmerly Director of Agriculture, Magistrate, Opium Agent, and Commissioer in India;—Captain the Hon. M. A. Bourke, R.N., C.M.G. (Egypt 1882);—Major O. W. de Satgé de Thorten, late 43rd Regt (Abyssinia 1868).

September 24th, 1900.

